

## IAF raids terrorist bases in Lebanon

By HIRSH GOODMAN  
Post Defence Correspondent  
and agencies

Israeli Air Force jets yesterday morning bombed pro-Syrian Palestinian terrorist bases 20 kilometres northeast of Tripoli, close to the Lebanese-Syrian border. Though the aircraft were within the range of Syrian Sam-2 and Sam-6 anti-aircraft missiles, none was fired. All planes returned safely to base, according to the IDF spokesman.

This was the 12th air strike against terror bases in Lebanon this year, but the first within the range of the Syrian missiles, which were moved to the area in September of last year.

According to reports from Beirut, three villages were attacked: Bergayel, Dhar Nassad and Khousha. The villages housed training camps, headquarters and ammunition dumps of several left-wing Palestinian terror groups, including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A two-storey building was destroyed and an ammunition dump left ablaze, according to these reports. Nine persons were reportedly injured.

Israeli military sources reiterated last night that the attack was part of Israel's ongoing policy of taking preemptive action to prevent terror attacks. They would not elaborate, but said that no special significance should be attached to the decision to launch the raid so close to the Syrian border.

"Provoking the Syrians," *The Jerusalem Post* was told, "was certainly not our intention. But we will act to defend ourselves regardless of where the Syrians place their missiles."

According to reports from Beirut the attack was carried out by seven or eight aircraft at 8 a.m. and lasted for several minutes.

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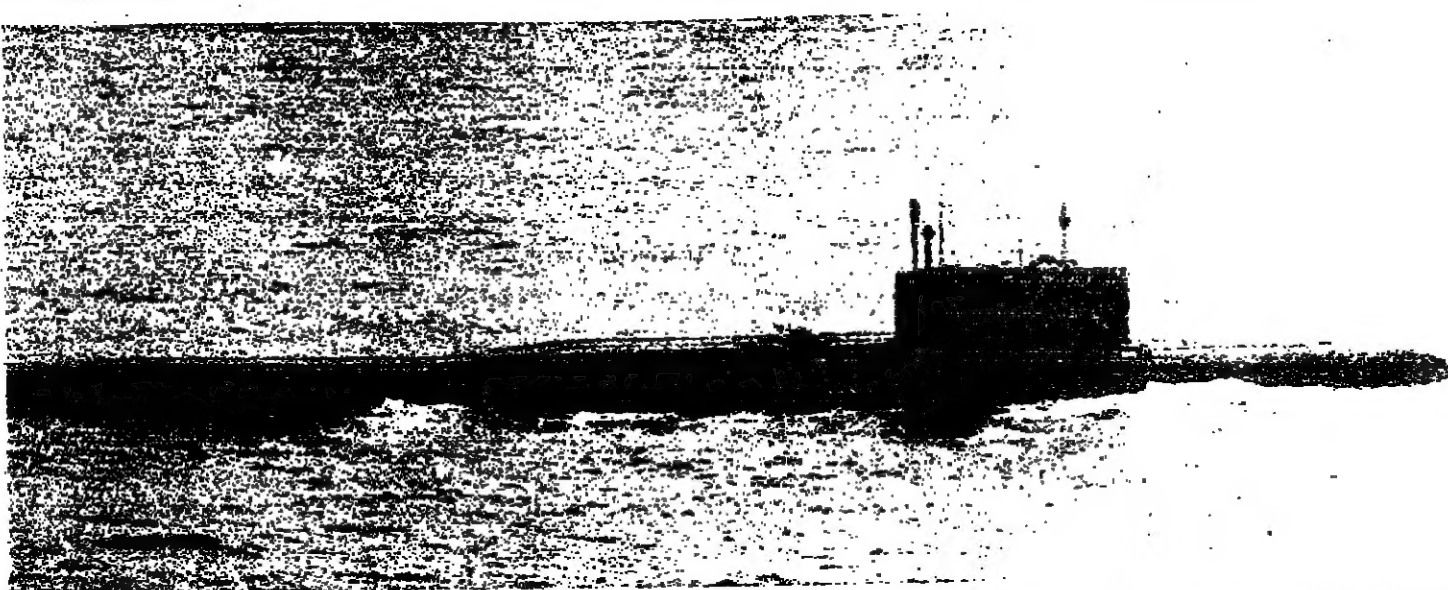
## Iran says three Iraqi jets downed

NICOSIA (AP). — Iran said Iraqi jets carried out a series of air raids in its Khuzestan province on Monday and Iranian defences shot down three Iraqi planes in escalating fighting along the 1,180km. battlefield and the Gulf over the past 48 hours.

Iran's news agency said the latest Iraqi air raid came at 1700 local time (1330 GMT), when six Iraqi jets bombed two "industrial units" at Haft-Tappeh in Khuzestan, causing "some damage."

Iraqi bombers had previously attacked industrial units in the same province twice since noon Monday, causing "more damage," added the agency, which is monitored in Nicosia.

It said 11 people were killed and 60 others wounded in the air raids. In retaliation, Iranian long-range artillery shelled Iraqi oil installations in Basra and Nakh-Khaneh near the border of Khuzestan in the central sector of the battlefield, setting ablaze part of the installations.



This photo released by the U.S. Defence Department late on Sunday shows the Soviet Yankee L class nuclear submarine disabled by a powerful explosion and fire. The photo shows damage at the top of the missile compartment behind the sub's sail. (AFP telephoto)

## Shamir: No rotation without Moda'i

By GREER FAY CASHMAN,  
SARAH HONIG  
and ROY ISACOWITZ

Vice Premier Shamir said last night that Yitzhak Moda'i, the Likud-Liberal leader, would be a minister in the post-rotation cabinet.

Shamir spoke to newsmen after a 75-minute meeting with Premier Peres at the premier's residence.

He said he was certain the rotation would take place as scheduled.

He did not specify what portfolio Moda'i would hold. He said that he and Peres would meet again, probably this evening, to discuss final pre-rotation details.

Shamir maintained that he and Peres had not actually discussed the rotation, but had devoted their time to "the Middle East and similar problems." Likud sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that Peres had also pledged that Peres would

Shamir the outline of his foreign-policy speech, to be delivered in the Knesset today, and would show him the full text before delivery.

Earlier, Shamir had vowed to the Likud leadership that he would not go through with the rotation without Yitzhak Moda'i in his cabinet.

In July, Peres forced Moda'i to resign from the cabinet because of Moda'i's public criticism of the prime minister.

Shamir revealed to the Liberals' presidium that in their recent meeting, Peres had asked that the Likud not insist on bringing back Moda'i in return for Labour's not replacing Health Minister Mordechai Gur who is expected to resign soon. Another suggestion was that the Moda'i matter be dealt with several months after rotation, Shamir turned down both

Two Labour Party MKs, Aharon Harel and Haim Ramon, said yesterday that they would not vote confidence in the government of Shamir when it is brought before the Knesset next Tuesday.

Harel and Ramon are expected to abstain. The rest of the Alignment Knesset caucus is expected to support the new government, despite the misgivings expressed yesterday by several MKs during a caucus meeting at Beit Berl.

MK Dvora Namir said last night that she most likely would also abstain in next week's confidence vote. MK Menachem Hacohen announced that he had not yet decided whether or not to abstain.

Peres repeated Labour's call for cooperation between Labour and the Likud on economic issues and the continuity of the government's

foreign-policy decisions, but he gave no indication that implementation of the rotation would be dependent on the Likud's response to such an appeal.

Labour Secretary-General Uzi Baram, who will lead the party's delegation in the consultations with the president next week, said that he would inform the president that Labour's choice for prime minister is Shamir. Labour had decided at its recent convention to go through with the rotation, he said.

Ramon rejected the calls for party discipline on the issue. Labour's veto over the disbursement of funds by the Housing and Industry Ministers David Levy and Ariel Sharon for West Bank settlement must be a condition for the continuation of the unity government, he said.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## TV stops broadcasts

By GREER FAY CASHMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

In a rare display of strength in its dealings with its employees, the Israel Broadcasting Authority management last night suspended television broadcasts from 8 p.m.

The suspension was in response to what IBA Director-General Uri Porat described as "mutiny" and "anarchy" on the part of television staff committees which had ordered workers to ignore new regulations drawn up by management.

At an emergency meeting last night in Jerusalem, Porat, TV acting director Haim Yavin and TV department heads decided that for once management would beat the employees at their own game by pulling the plug on broadcasts.

Last Thursday night, television broadcasts terminated just after 10 p.m. due to workers' sanctions. Management introduced a new set of rules after workers last week abided strictly by the book and refused to work more than 12 hours a week overtime. When workers' representatives rejected the new directives, Porat realized that it was time to show the workers who was boss.

"They behave as if television is

(Continued on page 9)



Soviet dissident Yuri Orlov is escorted by a policeman and an American man, likely a reporter, as they arrive at New York's Kennedy International Airport on Sunday after arriving from Moscow. Orlov had been jailed and exiled to Siberia for nearly 10 years for rights activities. He told reporters in New York that he felt "at home" in his new surroundings, and pledged "to continue to express my views" on rights activities.

## Burg bids a tearful farewell

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Outgoing Interior Minister Yosef Burg yesterday bade a tearful farewell to the government. His replacement by his National Religious Party colleague Ze'evulun Hammer was approved by the cabinet.

His voice occasionally choking with tears, Burg read out a message

of farewell in which he referred to his 35 years of service as a minister.

Burg joined the cabinet in 1951 as minister of health, and was the present cabinet's oldest and longest-serving member. His departure leaves Prime Minister Peres as the longest-serving minister and Foreign Minister Shamir as the oldest.

Burg noted that he was the only living "survivor" of the 1951 cabinet.

The outgoing minister told *The Jerusalem Post* that he was touched by Peres's farewell statement to him and by "his very warm words." He also referred to "the very sweet letter" Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi had passed to him.

## Hindawi trial opens in London

### 'Syria involved in El Al bomb plot'

By DAVID HOROVITZ  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — A British prosecutor said yesterday that there is "convincing evidence" that Syrian government agents were involved in attempting to blow up an El Al plane leaving Heathrow Airport in April.

Nizar Hindawi, the Jordanian accused of the attempt, told police that he had met the head of Syria's military intelligence and agreed to carry out attacks on Israeli targets, the prosecutor charged.

The prosecution told the jury on the opening day of Hindawi's Old Bailey trial that the Syrians had issued Hindawi with a "Syrian service passport" in Damascus, the kind of passport used for "official

government business." Furthermore, after leaving his pregnant girlfriend, Anna Murphy, to take the bomb on board the El Al jumbo, Hindawi went to the Syrian embassy, where he was congratulated by a man he believed to be the ambassador and told that he had done good work, the prosecution alleged.

Hindawi, 32, pleaded not guilty to the bombing attempt. He also denied illegal possession of a Browning pistol and 25 bullets.

Co-defendant Mohammed Fadda pleaded guilty to possessing a Browning pistol and bullets, and was remanded for sentencing at the end of Hindawi's trial.

A well-filled courtroom heard prosecutor Roy Amiot describe Hindawi's alleged attempt to blow up the 358-passenger El Al flight 016 on April 17 as "one of the most callous acts of all time." Hindawi sat impassively as an interpreter translated Amiot's opening statement.

Later in the proceedings, Hindawi's alleged unwitting accomplice, 32-year-old Dublin-born Ann Murphy, who has since given birth to Hindawi's child, tearfully and hesitantly confirmed much of the prosecution case. Amiot alleged that Hindawi planted the bomb — over a kilo of Czech-made Semtex, a highly powerful military plastic explosive —

in the false bottom of a travel bag he had bought for her intended holiday to Israel.

He had paid for her return ticket to Tel Aviv on the understanding that the two would get married in the Holy Land, the court heard. Hindawi told Murphy that the Jordanian newspaper for which he claimed to report had purchased a separate ticket for him, and that he would therefore be unable to travel with her.

In three hours of testimony, Murphy, speaking very softly told the court how she had chosen and folded her holiday clothes, but Hindawi had insisted on putting them in the bag himself.

He also put in a calculator, which he claimed was a present for a man in Israel. This calculator, in fact, served as the timer and detonator of the explosives.

Murphy told the court how Hindawi "fiddled with the calculator" while the two of them were travelling in a taxi on the way to Heathrow on the morning of April 17th.

Amiot explained that police explosives experts had since determined that Hindawi was actually setting the bomb timer. The charge was timed to explode at precisely 1:04 p.m., when the El Al 747 would

(Continued on back page)

## APOLOGY

Because of a breakdown in our computer, over 500 classified ads were omitted from last Friday's "Leah Ma'ariv" — *The Jerusalem Post*.

The ads will appear in next Friday's paper. We regret any inconvenience to our advertisers.

**The Jerusalem Post**  
Advertising Department

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## The weather at major Swissair destinations

	6.10.86	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	11	12	14	Cloudy
BELGIUM	11	12	14	Cloudy
BREMEN	11	12	14	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	11	12	14	Cloudy
CHURCHILL	11	12	14	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	11	12	14	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	11	12	14	Cloudy
GENEVA	11	12	14	Cloudy
HAMBURG	11	12	14	Cloudy
HELSINKI	11	12	14	Cloudy
LONDON	11	12	14	Cloudy
MADRID	11	12	14	Cloudy
MUNICH	11	12	14	Cloudy
PARIS	11	12	14	Cloudy
ROME	11	12	14	Cloudy
STUTTGART	11	12	14	Cloudy
VIENNA	11	12	14	Cloudy
ZURICH	11	12	14	Cloudy

\*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

swissair

## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy with normal temperatures.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	55	15-24	24
Golan	55	15-24	24
Nahariya	55	15-24	24
Nafaz	55	15-24	24
Hula Port	55	15-24	24
Tiberias	55	15-24	24
Nazareth	55	15-24	24
Afula	55	15-24	24
Shimon	55	15-24	24
Tel Aviv	55	15-24	24
B-5 Airport	55	15-24	24
Jericho	55	15-24	24
Caesarea	55	15-24	24
Bersheba	55	15-24	24
Eilat	55	15-24	24

## SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)

Labour sources predicted that up to one dozen Labour MKs would absent themselves from the Knesset session, so as not to have to vote confidence in the Shamir government.

Labour sources said yesterday that Peres and Shamir had in fact agreed in their Friday meeting on Labour's demands for a greater say on economic issues after the rotation, when both the prime minister and the minister of finance would be from the Likud.

The sources said that Shamir had agreed that all economic issues would have to be agreed to by Minister of Finance Moshe Nissim (for the Likud) and Economic Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi (for the Alignment) before being brought before either the Ministerial Economic Committee or the full cabinet. In case of the two failing to agree, Shamir and Peres would be added to that preliminary forum.

## Murder suspect arrives

By YORAM GAZIT

**BEN-GURION AIRPORT.** - Giti Zehavi, suspected of the murder of her former husband Yosef Israelov, arrived here late last night after being extradited from England.

She stepped off the El Al flight from London handcuffed to a policeman and wearing a white pants suit.

Zehavi was to be taken to the Abu Kabir lock-up in the early hours of this morning and is to appear before a Tel Aviv magistrate today or tomorrow.

## Gush Emunim march

Traffic disruptions can be expected late this afternoon in Jerusalem when Gush Emunim supporters hold a march to protest the continued detention of six members of the Jewish underground.

CONGRESS. - The 31 Zionist Congress will open at Binyanei Ha'uma on December 7, 1987. The Zionist Executive decided yesterday.

## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

### Prosecution tries to prove she lied

# Hava Ya'ari breaks down on witness stand

By YORAM GAZIT

**TEL AVIV.** - Hava Ya'ari collapsed yesterday on the witness stand at the Tel Aviv District Court when the prosecution adduced evidence to show that she had lied in her earlier testimony about the date of her father's death.

The evidence shook Ya'ari's claim that her father had given \$75,000 on her behalf to American tourist Mala Malavski in July 1981 - a year after he died.

Ya'ari stunned the packed court by bursting into tears and sinking behind the witness stand when prosecutor Pinna Dvorin produced Ya'ari's father's death certificate.

But Ya'ari soon recovered to continue being cross-examined.

Ya'ari and co-defendant Aviva Granot are charged with driving Malavski to the Tel Aviv beach on March 1985, hitting her on the head with a rolling pin and then running her over with Ya'ari's car.

The prosecution charges that the murder followed Malavski's discovery that Ya'ari had

stolen \$52,000 from her account in Jerusalem at the bank where Ya'ari worked.

Ya'ari testified that \$75,000 were given to Malavski by Ya'ari's father in July, 1981, to be deposited in Malavski's name in the bank. Ya'ari also charged that Malavski had stolen \$25,000 from that account.

At yesterday's hearing, the prosecution cited evidence that by July 1981 Ya'ari's father had already been dead for a year. Therefore, Dvorin said, the meeting with Malavski could not have taken place.

When Ya'ari retorted that she might have been mistaken about the year and that the meeting had taken place in 1980, Dvorin said that Malavski had not visited Israel at that time.

In the cross-examination Dvorin attempted to prove that Ya'ari had been lying throughout her testimony. She tried to show that Ya'ari was not psychologically dependent on Granot as Ya'ari had claimed, but had on many occasions acted on her own initiative. She said

that Ya'ari had a great deal of aggression which came out under stress.

Ya'ari fought back to disprove the three contentions. She said Dvorin was taking things out of context and distorting facts.

Dvorin referred to a taped telephone conversation between Granot and Ya'ari in which the latter suggested "getting rid" of a mysterious woman called Nava who had come to extort money from her for withholding information about "what happened with Malavski". Ya'ari replied that the expression she had used was "just slang".

Nava was revealed as a police detective who had met Ya'ari at her sister's boutique and pretended she knew about the murder.

Ya'ari also claimed that she was not aggressive. "I raised a 17-year-old daughter without hitting her even once," she said. She told the court how she was beaten up by an inmate in the Neveh Tirza prison and how she had hidden under the table instead of fighting back.

Insisting that she was dependent on Granot, whom she called her guru, Ya'ari claimed that some of her lies were the result of confusion.

Ya'ari, dressed in a black and grey shirt with her hair braided with red ribbon, managed to remain coherent during most of yesterday's hearings despite the many contradictions in her testimony.

In the battle between her and Dvorin, which at times took on personal overtones, Ya'ari appeared stronger than usual. Although she twice collapsed behind the witness stand, she answered the prosecutor boldly throughout the trial, and in one instance told her: "All my life I was a floor-rag for all the people around me. But I'm not going to be your rag."

At certain times, Ya'ari accused Dvorin of making faces at her, and at one point she turned her back on Dvorin and stopped answering her questions until ordered to do so by the court.

The trial is to resume today with the continued cross-examination of Ya'ari by Dvorin and by Granot's attorney, Natan Kenneth.

## Temple Mount group wins court order

By MENACHEM SHALEV

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The High Court of Justice yesterday gave the government 60 days to explain why it is not enforcing building and antiquities laws on the Temple Mount.

The "Temple Mount Faithful" group, headed by Gershon Solomon, told the High Court that the Supreme Moslem Council was erecting illegal constructions on the mount. The group which demands that Jews be allowed to pray on the mount, claims that the council is carrying out "Islamization" of the mount by eradicating Jewish antiquities and by illegally building large areas for Moslem prayers.

The "Faithful" say that for over 16 months they have complained to the police, the municipality and the

Antiquities Division of the Education Ministry, but to no avail. They asked that the High Court order a halt to the illegal construction and that those responsible be brought to trial.

Court President Meir Shamgar, Justice Miriam Ben-Porat and Justice Menachem Elon rejected the state's request to dismiss the petition on the grounds that the High Court lacks jurisdiction in the matter.

Solomon, who says that the building activities have been going on for three years, told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the court's decision to issue an injunction means that it rejects the state's contention that what goes on in the Temple Mount is "above the law."

## Ministry must honour pledge to Ethiopians

By MENACHEM SHALEV

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Scores of Ethiopian Jews crowded the High Court of Justice yesterday to hear the court order the Religious Affairs Ministry to establish immediately an "institute for research of the heritage of Ethiopian Jewry."

The establishment of the institute forms part of an agreement concluded with the Ethiopian Jews exactly a year ago, at the end of a month-long strike by hundreds of members of the community. They petitioned the court nine months ago to ensure the enforcement of the agreement.

The agreement established guidelines which were supposed to eliminate the need for all Ethiopian Jews to undergo automatically immersion as a precondition to getting married.

The institute, made up of Ethiopian religious leaders (*kesim*) and representatives of the Religious Affairs and Absorption ministries, is slated to provide marriage registrars with evidence concerning the personal status of Ethiopian Jews who wish to marry.

According to last year's agreement, this evidence will be deemed "important," but not "conclusive." In case of doubt, the marriage registrars are to refer the matter to a rabbinical court.

The agreement, however, has not been implemented. The Religious Affairs Ministry told the court yesterday that it lacked the funds necessary for setting up the institute.

In ordering the institute to be established, the High Court told the sides to report back after 60 days whether the new guidelines had solved the impasse between the Ethiopian Jews and the Chief Rabbinate. At that time, the court will decide whether to intervene further.

## Swede is third Taba arbitrator

GENEVA (Reuters).

Swedish judge Gunnar Lagergren has agreed to take part in the arbitration panel to settle the Taba territorial dispute, the Israeli diplomatic mission said here yesterday.

Senior officials from Egypt and Israel met here last month to decide on a third independent arbitrator to join two others already selected: Dietrich Schindler, a Swiss law professor and Pierre Bellet of France.

The commission is to hold its first meeting in Geneva in early December, according to diplomatic sources.



was "In the case of the Lebanon War, I don't see that this action was against the national interest of Israel - the fact is that the PLO is out of Lebanon and has since weakened considerably. Its strength has deteriorated internationally and this is an achievement of the Israeli strategy."

It seems that Mrs. Tuchman has got the Diaspora complex which reveals in the view of Amiel Schotz. He does not always have to give in and on the receiving end of the stick.

Exactly as Mrs. Tuchman is right her political analysis of events in the March of Polly, she is completely right in her views on the Lebanon War.

HERZHYA.

## LEARNING BURDEN

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*

Sir, - The new school year has started and, once again, we see children humping overfilled bookbags and from school. Surely their burden ought to be relieved by providing storage lockers at the school so that books not required for homework. Costs could be met by charging some form of key-money rental of the lockers.

S.J. MELZER

## ROOKLYN COLLEGE ALUMNI

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*

Sir, - Brooklyn College Alumni will be hosting a reception in honor of the visit on November 3 of President Robert Hess. Details about the reunion and reception are being mailed to the alumni by the college.

Ben-Gurion, before handing over the floor to Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi.

Ya'acobi outlined wide-ranging development plans, which were duly noted by the cabinet before it established a 10-man ministerial committee.

## BARCLAYS DISCOUNT

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*

Sir, - I wish to inform your readers that, contrary to what is expected to submit its recommendations to the cabinet in December.

Ya'acobi also recommended the shifting of Eilat's airport 14 kilometres northwards to Ein Evrona, where a large terminal and runways capable of handling large airliners could be built.

## Nurses issue new threat

By JUDY SIEGEL

Hospital nurses said last night that they would abandon almost all departments tomorrow morning following a breakdown in negotiations with the Treasury.

The hospital nurses and government negotiators were again at loggerheads last night, as the nurses continued to demand a shortened work week and the Treasury insisted that this was "impossible."

Negotiations at Histadrut headquarters in Tel Aviv broke up after three hours, with the nurses claiming they had not been offered anything new. Treasury officials, however, said that if the nurses agreed to everything offered them, the average salary of a full-time nurse would be NIS1,500 a month gross.

To help remedy the shortage of scores of nurses in the Negev, a course to train mothers to be practical or registered nurses has been opened by the Histadrut's Kupat Holim Chai Health Fund and Ben-Gurion University.

## Protest against 'iron fist' policy

Jerusalem Post Staff

A group calling itself "The Committee against the Iron Fist" demonstrated outside Damascus Gate yesterday in protest against recent administrative detentions in the territories.

The protest by several dozen people ended after about an hour without incident.

Four West Bank Palestinians were detained last week by military authorities for six-month terms, bringing the total number of administrative detainees to 21. The four detained were Jibril Erjoub of Dura, Ibrahim Shecha of Nablus, Kamal Afghani of the Balata refugee camp, and Odeh Talb Ja'abari of Hebron.

## Call for sons' aliya

TEL AVIV (Itim).

Forty mothers of adult children who have been refused emigration by the Soviet authorities yesterday demonstrated outside the U.S. embassy here. They handed a petition to the ambassador, requesting President Reagan not to forget the plight of Soviet Jewry during his summit meeting next week with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

## Memorial for Istanbul

TEL AVIV (Itim).

A memorial for the 22 victims of the terrorist massacre at the Istanbul synagogue was held yesterday at the Heichal Yehuda synagogue of the Turkish community here on the 30th day after the attack.

Among those attending were Deputy Prime Minister Navon, Minister of Industry and Trade Sharon, Tel Aviv Chief Rabbi Haim David Halevy and members of the Turkish community from throughout the country.

## Basketball results

Post Sports Reporter

In the third round of the National League basketball championships yesterday Maccabi Ramat Gan beat Hapoel Jerusalem 89-88. Highest scorer in the game, held at Jerusalem's Goldberg Sports Centre, was Or Goren (Maccabi Ramat Gan) with 36 points.

Other scores: Hapoel Haifa 80, Hapoel Tel Aviv 86, Hapoel Eilat Givat 99, Hapoel Ramat Gan 76, Maccabi Tel Aviv 108, Hapoel Galil-Elyon 85, Beitar Tel Aviv 104, Maccabi Haifa 88.

The game between Elitzur Netanya and Hapoel Holon was suspended after 12 minutes and 35 seconds of the first half because the backboards were broken.

## Urgent Appeal for Saving Lives

To Our Fellow Jews!

Heed the cry of this family of eleven. The father, who laboured all his life to support them, has now fallen ill with a severe illness. He has been under constant medical care for the past two years and is unable to support his large family.

The children and their mother have been left with no means of support. "The tiny ones beg for bread and there is none to give it to them". As a result, he is burdened with staggering debts which are aggravating his illness.

Dear brethren, please come to the family's assistance. Your generous contributions will be amply rewarded.

Eliezer Yehuda Waldenberg  
• Member, Beit Hadin Hagadol  
Moshe Yosef Miletzky  
• Av Beit Din, Jerusalem  
Reuven Eliaz  
• Rosh Yeshivat Hahaim  
We wish to add our names to this appeal, and ask that all contribute generously, and the Almighty will surely requite with good all those who do good.

Shlomo Zalman Auerbach  
Yosef Shalom Elyashuv  
When submitting contributions, please indicate "Urgent Appeal for Saving Lives".

Contributions may be submitted to the Public Committee for Rescuing the Family:

Harav Hagoan Moshe Yosef Miletzky, 21 Reh. Zephania, Jerusalem  
Harav Hagoan Levi Yitzhak Halperin, 14 Reh. Geshet Hahaim, Jerusalem  
• Head, Scientific Technological Institute for Halachic Problems  
Harav Hagoan Yehoshua Neuwirth, Reh. Harav Bergman, Bayit Vegan, Jerusalem  
Harav Hagoan Yisrael Gans, 2 Reh. Panim Me'ir, Jerusalem  
Rabbi Zeev Lang, 73 Bayit Vegan, Jerusalem

Bnei Brak: Harav Hagoan Yehuda Boyar, 5 Reh. Rashbam  
Harav Hagoan Yitzhak Shindelshtohn, 3 Reh. Ha'ari  
Haifa: Harav Hagoan Yitzhak Shlomo Ziewald, 27A Reh. Rabbi Akiva Mizrahi Bank, branch 17, Reh. Malchei Yisrael, Jerusalem, account no. 348927.  
Poalei Agudat Yisrael Bank, branch 85, 47 Reh. Malchei Yisrael, Jerusalem, account no. 105-300322.  
Postal Bank, account no. 4-35448-3.

## Grants bonanza for Hebrew writers

By MARSHA POMERANTZ

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Twice the usual number of grants to Hebrew writers were awarded at the Writers House here yesterday, with Prime Minister Peres and Education and Culture Minister Navon participating in the ceremony.

The one-year stipends, known as the Prime Minister's Creativity Prize, were established by the late Levi Eshkol and are awarded each year on his birthday.

Until now five writers were honored, but a committee appointed by Peres to consider the difficult economic conditions of writers recently recommended that the number of grants be doubled.

The tax-free stipends, roughly NIS 1,000 a month, for one year, went to: Yosef Bar-Yosef, Maya Bejerano, Moshe Dor, Binyamin Galai, Yehudit Kafri, Yoram Kaniuk, Abba Kovner, Reuven Merani, Yosef Sharon and Dan Shavit.

PHILHARMONIC. - Festivities celebrating the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra's 50th anniversary are to begin this week with the temporary renaming of a Tel Aviv street in honour of the IPO, a photography exhibition, an exhibition of drawings, and the planting of a forest.

## ILSE WEITENBERG

The funeral will be held Tuesday, October 7, 1986.

We shall meet at the cemetery gates.

The family at Beit Zera

10-10-86

## CHARLES

We share your grief

10-10-86

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## YETTA REINGAND

has passed away in old age

The funeral will take place at 12 noon, tomorrow, Wednesday, October 8, 1986 at the Holon cemetery.

A bus will leave from 42 Sderot Ha'atzma'ut, Bat Yam at 11:30 a.m.

The Family

## CLARA LEBOWITZ

The funeral will take place at 2 p.m. today, Tuesday, October 7, 1986

at the Eretz Hahaim cemetery, near Beit Shמש.

A bus will leave for the cemetery at 1:15 p.m. from the corner of Shalom Aleichem and Jabotinsky streets, Jerusalem.

Her daughters and sons-in-law:

Shirley and Louis Schiffman, Jerusalem

Doris and Avram Gliman, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Her grandsons and great-grandchildren

Shiva will be observed at the Schiffman residence, 12/5 Jabotinsky Street, Jerusalem.

Lee and Julie Spatner



## Mubarak urges joint Arab stand on peace talks

## Egypt raps Palestinian ha

CAIRO (AFP). — President Hosni Mubarak has called on Arab states to adopt a "common stand" on an international Middle East conference and criticized "certain" Palestinians for blocking attempts to reach a peaceful settlement in the region. Egyptian newspapers reported yesterday.

Mubarak, talking to newspaper editors on Sunday, said he had secured approval for staging an international conference from Prime Minister Shimon Peres at their recent summit in Alexandria.

"Now what is needed is for Arab countries and the Palestinians to have a common stand in order to restart the peace process," the president said.

Mubarak was speaking on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the assassination of President Anwar Sadat that brought him to power. He blamed "certain Palestinian elements" for failed

efforts by Jordan and the PLO to forge a common position on future Middle East talks.

He said those Palestinians had "frozen" the accord reached in February, 1985 by King Hussein and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, and since suspended by the Jordanian monarch.

"We could have made greater progress if the Palestinians had shown a greater desire to promote peace efforts," he told the editors.

On the Tabu dispute, which has now been submitted to international arbitration, Mubarak said Israel had shown "great flexibility. The Israelis accepted all we asked for and we made no concessions."

He described Egypt's relations as good with "the majority of the other Arab countries," stressing that "contacts with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states and the understanding between Egypt and these countries are strengthening."

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## New York Times

WEEKLY REVIEW

Printed and distributed  
in Israel  
in association with  
The Jerusalem Post



1985

1955



1961



1973

1967

1974

1979

FACE TO FACE  
Moscow and Washington  
at the summit

July 1955,  
Geneva

Eisenhower, Bulganin and  
Khrushchev

Main topics: Aerial surveillance,  
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reunification of Germany

September 1959,  
Camp David

Eisenhower and Khrushchev

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May 1960,  
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Eisenhower and Khrushchev

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Kennedy and Khrushchev

Main topics: Nuclear test ban  
treaty, war in Laos, Berlin

June 1967,  
Glassboro, N.J.

Johnson and Kossygin

Main topics: Middle East,  
Vietnam war, nuclear arms

May 1972,  
Moscow

Nixon and Brezhnev

Main topics: Strategic arms  
agreement, antiballistic missile  
treaty

June 1973,  
Washington

Nixon and Brezhnev

Main topics: Arms treaty, trade,  
agricultural research, cultural  
exchanges, transportation,  
oceanography, nuclear energy  
research

June and July 1974,  
Moscow and Yalta

Nixon and Brezhnev

Main topics: Treaty banning  
underground nuclear weapons  
tests, 10-year economic pact

November 1974,  
Vladivostok

Ford and Brezhnev

Main topic: New strategic arms  
treaty

August 1975,  
Helsinki

Ford and Brezhnev

Main topics: European security,  
strategic arms treaty

June 1979,  
Vienna

Carter and Brezhnev

Main topic: Strategic arms  
treaty

November 1985,  
Geneva

Reagan and Gorbachev

Main topics: Nuclear arms  
reduction, cultural and  
educational exchanges

## Terms for release of French ho

## Jihad wants 17 jailed

BEIRUT (Reuters). — The pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad group yesterday demanded freedom for 17 Arab prisoners in Kuwait in return for the release of three French hostages in Lebanon.

In Paris, Premier Jacques Chirac said his government had asked Syria "for information and help to subdue Lebanese and Middle East terrorists" who have killed 10 people and wounded 162 in the French capital recently in bomb attacks.

The Islamic Jihad demand was accompanied by a videotape of the hostages in which they pleaded for help from the French government and people.

The Islamic Jihad (Holy War) statement delivered to an international news agency in Beirut said: "We are still waiting for serious action by the French government to release the 17 strugglers in Kuwait... which will lead to the release of the three Frenchmen we hold."

This was believed to be the first Islamic Jihad offer to swap French hostages for the 17 men held in Kuwait for December, 1983 bomb

attacks which killed six people a wounded over 80.

The Islamic Jihad has previously linked release of the Kuwaiti prisoners with the fate of three U.S. hostages it also holds.

On the videotape, one of the French hostages, Marcel Fontaine, said: "the new government (France) gave me hope, but now I'm disappointed... I can't bear it a longer. I am tired and desperate. Fontaine, 43, is a diplomat who captivity has lasted more than 1 months. "I have nothing left but bones and skin."

Marcel Carton, 62, seized to same day as Fontaine, echoed I appeal, saying: "We are on the very of the abyss."

"I am deeply disillusioned with the new French government... is it how they help their people? I serve France, my country for 40 years, the haggard-looking diplomat said. "Don't bet on the kidnappers getting tired."

In his radio interview on the wave of recent attacks in France, Chirac pledged that French policy over the

Lebanese truce accord  
to lift siege at Tyre

DAMASCUS (AFP). — Lebanese and Palestinian representatives agreed here Sunday on a ceasefire to end the six-day-old siege by Shi'ite militiamen of Palestinian camps outside Tyre, according to a joint communiqué.

A five-point plan called for an immediate truce and the creation of a delegation to supervise it comprising the Shi'ite militia Amal, the Lebanese Armed Forces and the pro-Syrian Palestinian National Salvation Front.

The ceasefire also calls for an end to the siege of Rashidiyah and other camps outside Tyre, the handing over by Amal and by the Palestinians of "troublemakers," and the NSF's assumption of full control within the Palestinian camps.

Jumblatt wants Jiyeh  
free of Shi'ites

LONDON. — Druse leader Walid Jumblatt has been systematically razing the homes of hundreds of Shi'ite Muslims in the Lebanese coastal town of Jiyeh, in an effort to turn the area into an exclusively Druse fiefdom, according to a report in *The Times* yesterday. The report confirms intelligence suggestions in recent days here that Jumblatt is trying to set up a "Druseland" in the Lebanese seaboard area halfway between Beirut and Sidon.

Tight security for  
Hussein in India

NEW DELHI (Reuters). — Tight security surrounded King Hussein of Jordan when he arrived yesterday on a nine-day visit to India during which he is expected to discuss Middle East peace prospects with Indian leaders.

Terrorists issue  
new threats

BEIRUT (AP). — Two underground groups issued threats of escalated violence against France yesterday unless imprisoned Middle Eastern terrorists were quickly freed from French jails.

One group, calling itself the Committee for Solidarity with Arab and Middle East political prisoners (CSSPA) also threatened to turn Rome's streets to "scorched earth."

The other statement was issued by the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia.

The CSSPA statement, delivered to Beirut newspapers, demanded the release of two Lebanese leftists in Italian jails as well as the freedom of three French prisoners, Georges Ibrahim Abdullah, Varoujan Garabedian and Anis Naccache.



Soviet dissident Yuri Orlov is escorted by a policeman and an American man at New York's Kennedy International Airport on Sunday after arriving. Orlov had been jailed and exiled to Siberia for nearly 10 years by rights activities. He told reporters in New York that he felt "ver, homeland, and pledged "to continue to express my views" on rights activities.

## Waters recede in so

TULSA, Oklahoma (AP). — Floodwaters in some parts of central U.S. states had receded enough by yesterday to allow them into their homes some of the estimated 45,000 people forced to flee. But rain-swollen rivers rose elsewhere in those states.

"We're going to have continuing problems," said Oklahoma Governor George Nigh. "Even if there no more rain, we're still going have flooding for the next few days."

JACK LEMMON

IN

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BY EUGENE O'NEILL

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Zaccaro Indicted  
In Bribery Case

In pleading guilty to charges of fraud last year, John A. Zaccaro told the court, "I have learned my lesson the hard way." But it was surely no harder than what prosecutors in

The Warring  
Christian  
Factions in a  
Bloody Beirut

3

Queens now have in mind.

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No date for Mr. Zaccaro's arraignment was set. Ms. Ferraro had no comment on her husband's indictment. But Mr. Zaccaro said, "I think we've been pushed around enough."







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## Toward the Summit

### En Route to Reykjavik, Reagan May Have One Eye on History

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

**A** FEW days after the 1980 election, Richard M. Nixon went to the Soviet Embassy to assure the Russians that notwithstanding his virulent anti-Communist views, Ronald Reagan would turn out to be a President just as dedicated to better Soviet-American relations as Mr. Nixon had been.

Nearly six years later, as Mr. Reagan prepares for a meeting in Iceland next weekend with the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Mr. Nixon's prediction turns out to be correct. President Reagan, who once called all Soviet leaders "bats" and the Soviet Union the "evil empire," now seems determined to leave a foreign affairs legacy in which arms control agreements with the Soviet Union will be the centerpiece.

There is, of course, a mystique about summit meetings. Despite warnings not to expect too much from such sessions, they inevitably create around the world expectations that somehow the two super rivals might be able to settle their differences across the table. Every American President since Franklin D. Roosevelt has met with the Soviet leader.

Sometimes hopes rise very high, as they did after Nikita S. Khrushchev traveled to the United States in 1959 to meet President Eisenhower. Sometimes, such meetings, like the Khrushchev-Kennedy session in 1961, which ended in sharp disagreement over Berlin, increase tensions. But usually, they produce brief euphoria, an excuse for buoyancies to draft reports that brighten the atmosphere but do not materially reduce major differences.

The Iceland meeting is not, according to President Reagan, a full-blown "summit," but rather a preliminary, somewhat akin to President Ford's Vladivostok meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev in 1974, three months after Mr. Nixon resigned in the wake of the Watergate scandal. That meeting was to accelerate arms control talks.

The haste with which arrangements are being made for the latest meeting resembles preparations for President Lyndon B. Johnson's meeting at Glassboro, N.J., in June 1967 with Prime Minister Alexei N. Kosygin, who was in the United States for a United Nations meeting but refused to come to Washington. Mr. Johnson did not want to go to New York, so they met midway, achieving little more than an atmosphere of goodwill.

The Iceland meeting was hastily agreed to by Mr. Reagan after it was suggested by Mr. Gorbachev on Sept. 19. The Soviet leader, who has been pressing Mr. Reagan to no avail for a total test ban treaty, presumably wants one more chance to change Mr. Reagan's mind without his advisers around. Agreements in Iceland could become accords to be signed later this year in a visit by Mr. Gorbachev to Washington.

The resolution of the Daniloff case, which had impeded negotiations for a summit meeting, was an example of how leaders can sweep aside unpleasantness. Mr. Reagan chose to ignore a seeming slur on his integrity by Mr. Gorbachev, who had rejected publicly his assurances that Nicholas S. Daniloff,

the U.S. News & World Report correspondent, was not a spy.

Not only did Mr. Reagan remain calm, but he had only the warmest words for Mr. Gorbachev, whom he described, incorrectly, as the first Soviet leader to propose actual reductions in arms.

This transformation in Mr. Reagan's views about the Soviet Union, from hostility to conciliation, has been going on for two years, and it produced the first Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in Geneva last November, when they spent considerable time together. Much to the consternation of some conservative Reagan supporters, the President's interest in developing closer relations with Moscow has become much more pronounced in recent months as Mr. Gorbachev's visit to Washington later this year has become more likely. Mr. Reagan, aware that his Administration has failed to achieve significant foreign policy breakthroughs, seems caught up in the possibility of being the first President to sign a treaty actually reducing nuclear arms. Both sides seem to agree that there is a reasonable chance of reaching an accord reducing the number of medium-range missiles.

The announcement of the Iceland meeting followed the resolution of the Daniloff case. After Secretary of State George P. Shultz and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, made a deal, both sides moved quickly. Mr. Daniloff, who had been confined to Moscow on espionage charges, was allowed to return home Monday without having been tried. The next day, Gennadi F. Zakharov, the Soviet U.N. employee charged with espionage, pleaded no contest and was on his way home by late afternoon. For all practical purposes, it seemed like a trade, which appeared to have been the Soviet objective when Mr. Daniloff was seized Aug. 30, a week after Mr. Zakharov's arrest.

#### The Face-saver

The Reagan Administration had said it would never even discuss a swap, but in the end yielded when Moscow provided it with a face-saver, the promise to release this week Yuri Orlov, who once was a leader of the Soviet dissident movement, and his wife. The Orlov release allowed the White House to argue that Mr. Daniloff had been freed unconditionally and that Mr. Zakharov was part of a trade for a dissident. The problem was that the two prisoners were freed in 24 hours of each other, making it difficult not to see a trade. And Washington had failed in an effort to secure, in return for Mr. Zakharov, the release of a larger group of dissidents, including some prominent Jews who had been denied permission to emigrate.

Mr. Reagan seemed aware of the perception in conservative circles that he had become a convert to détente. He told a group of columnists that although he felt comfortable talking to Mr. Gorbachev, "I don't think that I am going to be snowed into believing that the leopard is changing its spots." Yet, he said, "I think in the private conversations we had there was a certain frankness that I have never felt in any of the other leaders of the Soviet Union that I have met." He did not mention that he had never had lengthy discussions with any Soviet leader except Mr. Gorbachev.



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#### FACE TO FACE Moscow and Washington at the summit

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**June 1967,  
Glassboro, N.J.**

Johnson and Kosygin

Main topics: Middle East, Vietnam war, nuclear arms

**May 1972,  
Moscow**

Nixon and Brezhnev

Main topics: Strategic arms agreement, antiballistic missile treaty

**June 1973,  
Washington**

Nixon and Brezhnev

Main topics: Arms treaty, trade, agricultural research, cultural exchanges, transportation, oceanography, nuclear energy research

**June and July 1974,  
Moscow and Yalta**

Nixon and Brezhnev

Main topics: Treaty banning underground nuclear weapons tests, 10-year economic pact

**November 1974,  
Vladivostok**

Ford and Brezhnev

Main topic: New strategic arms treaty

**August 1975,  
Helsinki**

Ford and Brezhnev

Main topics: European security, strategic arms treaty

**June 1979,  
Vienna**

Carter and Brezhnev

Main topic: Strategic arms treaty

**November 1985,  
Geneva**

Reagan and Gorbachev

Main topics: Nuclear arms reduction, cultural and educational exchanges

#### In Summary



Representative Mickey Leland (left), Randall Robinson of TransAfrica, an anti-apartheid group, and Senator Edward M. Kennedy after the Senate voted last week to override President Reagan's veto of South African sanctions.

#### Sanctions Veto Takes a Trouncing In Both Houses

Congress overrode President Reagan's veto of economic sanctions against South Africa last week by

margins considerably greater than the necessary two-thirds: 313 to 83 in the House, and 78 to 21 in the Senate.

The action was a major rebuff to the President, one he sought to avert as he prepared to meet next week-end with Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. Before the vote in the Senate, which is controlled by the Republicans, the President tele-

phoned members to say that an override would make him look ineffective at the summit meeting.

The Congressional action was designed to persuade South Africa to change its policy of racial separation. While expressing the mood of Congress, the sanctions will not have much impact on South Africa's economy. They affect about 10 per cent of South Africa's trade with the United States and a much smaller portion of its total external trade. The sanctions include a ban on new American investments, but most such activity has already dried up.

In Pretoria, Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha said the Senate had acted on an "emotional basis," and that it was "clear the decision was taken without considering our reform program and that no reason or argument could have stemmed this emotional tide."

Mr. Botha had tried to stem the tide by telephoning Farm Belt Senators with a warning that Pretoria would halt purchases of American grain if the restrictions were imposed.

#### A Leak on Leaks Stirs an Uproar

Dissembling has always had a role in diplomacy, as witness the job de-

scription offered three centuries ago by the British diplomat Sir Henry Wotton: "An ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country." But the misinformation at issue in Washington last week had been fed to unwitting reporters.

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#### The Warring Christian Factions in a Bloody Beirut

3



# The World

## French Officials Mobilize Against New Terrorism

France took extraordinary precautions last week against terrorist incidents that might follow the bombings that killed 10 people and injured 163 in September. Senior officials appealed for public vigilance, repeating warnings issued before the bombings.

"We do not believe things have changed," said Interior Minister Charles Pasqua. "Things could get worse." All police leaves were canceled for the first time since the student and worker upheavals in May 1985. And security checks were inaugurated for the semiannual Paris fashion showings, which are attended by hundreds of foreign buyers, writers and photographers.

The warnings followed the apparent failure of efforts by French officials to bargain for a truce with Middle Eastern guerrilla groups. Archbishop Hilarion Capucci of the Roman Catholic Melkite Church of the Eastern Rite, a Syrian who had sought to function as a go-between, left France expressing disgust after President François Mitterrand questioned his credentials. The Archbishop was sentenced to a three-year term in Israel in 1974 for transporting explosives. Mr. Mitterrand said he was concerned about the "extraordinary facilities" being accorded the Archbishop, though the clergyman did not represent any country.

Michel Aurillac, a Cabinet Minister who recently visited Damascus, said it was known "with certainty" that the brothers of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah — a suspected Lebanese terrorist leader being held in a French prison — had been spirited out of France "by professional secret agents."

"We noted," Mr. Aurillac added, "that they have held press conferences in Lebanon in a region controlled by Syria." The French police believe the Abdallah brothers had a role in the bombings. Prime Minister Jacques Chirac said France was studying "methods of retaliation" against countries that help terrorists. But he said no proof of such help had been found, and "nothing allows us to accuse Syria of anything at all."

Officials took special pains to protect Pope John Paul II during his four-day visit to France, which began yesterday in Lyons. Security was also tightened at synagogues during Jewish New Year services this weekend.

## Arab Nations Seek U.N. Peace Effort

Arab countries, worried that Iran may be about to launch a large-scale military offensive in its six-year-old war with Iraq, appealed last week for renewed United Nations peace efforts. And Secretary of State George Shultz offered assurances to the foreign ministers of Persian Gulf countries, reaffirming the United States commitment to insure the flow of oil through the Strait of Hormuz, at the entrance to the Gulf.

Mr. Shultz said the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, had agreed during their recent meetings to seek an end to the war. But he said the Russians had not restrained their allies, notably Czechoslovakia and North Korea, and such aid elements as Syria from supplying weapons to Iran. China has become an important weapons supplier for Iran, a State Department official said, ignoring American appeals for restraint.



French policemen checking a pedestrian's identity card in Paris.

"Mounting Iranian threats to launch a new extensive attack against Iraq endanger the security of the region," said Cheddi Klibi, the secretary general of the 21-member Arab League, in a debate in the United Nations Security Council. Privately, Arab officials said they feared that dramatic Iranian military gains could turn into a rout of the Iraqi army.

Addressing the United Nations General Assembly, the Iranian Foreign Minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, predicted victory and warned the Gulf countries that, by supporting Iraq, "they have put their national interests in jeopardy."

## More Uncertainty About P.O.W.'s

For the first time in years, a Defense Department investigation has found that Vietnam may indeed still hold American prisoners of war. At least that is the assessment of Lieut. Gen. Eugene F. Tighe Jr., a former Director of Defense Intelligence who headed a five-month review of intelligence files on the issue. The general said last week that "a large volume of evidence" — mainly "live sightings" reported by Vietnamese refugees — points to the likelihood that Americans are still imprisoned by Hanoi.

But the current Director of Defense Intelligence was more cautious. At a news conference a day after General Tighe's remarks, Lieut. Gen. Leonard H. Perrotto contended that, while the investigation pointed to the "strong possibility" that some Americans remain alive in Vietnam 14 years after the United States pulled out, there was no "strong compelling evidence" to prove it. And General Perrotto, who headed the investigative panel, refused to speculate on whether Hanoi still holds Americans prisoner or whether Americans had voluntarily remained in Southeast Asia.

Veterans' groups and families of the missing have argued that Washington has not done enough to find out what happened to the 2,430 Americans who remain unaccounted for in Indochina. Although the Vietnamese Government has repeatedly denied holding prisoners, it said earlier this year that Americans may be living in remote parts of the country.

The Pentagon announced late last week that American and Vietnamese officials would meet in Hanoi this week to talk about the missing Americans. It will be the fourth such conference this year and the eighth since the Vietnamese agreed in March 1985 to discuss the issue.

Milt Freudenheim and James F. Clarity

## Finance Ministers Hint They'll Be Cooperative

# At the I.M.F., Winks and Nods May Be the News

By PETER T. KILBORN

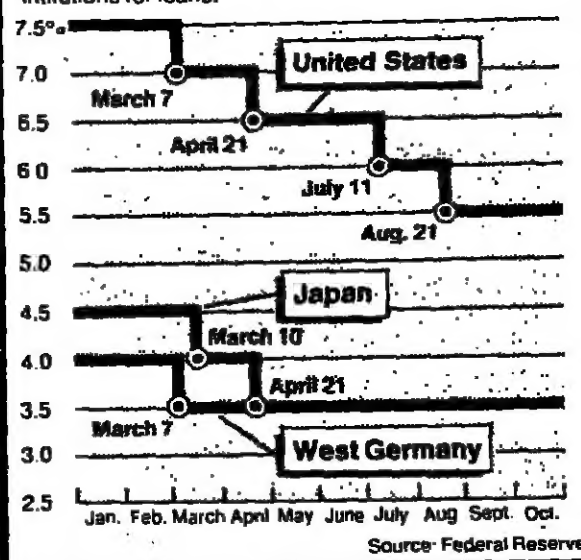
MOST of the world's finance ministers were in Washington last week trying to master the riddles of a weak world economy. They went home with little more than token achievements and high-minded declarations that obscured the usual discord. But there were hints, in their winks and nods and in the restlessness of the financial markets, that the gathering's epitaph has yet to be written — that the ground may have been laid for a lower dollar or a reduction in foreign interest rates, both of which President Reagan wants.

There was frustration in the comments of the Reagan Administration, which set out last year to reclaim the helm of world economic policymaking, which it had abandoned during its first term. James A. Baker 3d then called on Japan, Germany, Britain and France to join in driving down the high-blown dollar. And the Secretary of Treasury presented a plan to help developing countries cope with their debts if they would adopt Reaganesque policies. In May in Tokyo, he persuaded the leaders at the economic summit to join in coordinating domestic economic policies.

At the meetings here of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and the secret meetings of the biggest nations that set the tone, tentative evidence emerged that the Baker initiatives might just be beginning to show promise of eventually working. There was an apparent decline of the American trade deficit, its immediate target. The Commerce Department said that in August, the deficit shrank to \$13 billion from \$16 billion in July. Trade figures are fickle, but this implied that the dollar's 19-month de-

## Out of sync

Changes during 1986 in discount rates, the basic interest rates central banks charge various financial institutions for loans.



cline had finally begun to do what arithmetic says it should — push up prices of imports, cut prices of American exports and thus cut deficits.

Meanwhile, Mexico settled all but the details of a new \$12 billion loan agreement, the first to meet most of the "Baker plan" objectives. Mexico was also promised \$1.7 billion in additional loans if its economy deteriorates, for reasons still to be defined. The Administration and the commercial banks that will provide half the \$12 billion denied it, but the agreement set a standard other debtors will pursue. "Absolutely it's a precedent," said R.T. McNamar, a merchant banker who was Deputy Secretary of Treasury in

## With Elections Possible Next Year, Kinnock Looks Credible

# Britain Heads for Nuclear War at Polls

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

BLACKPOOL, England — POLITICAL commentators and supposed insiders — sometimes referred to in Britain as "the chattering classes" — scoffed for the most part a year ago when Neil Kinnock, the leader of Her Majesty's opposition, spoke of moving into 10 Downing Street as Prime Minister in a Labor Party Government. Now, though it is far from a sure thing, they are forced to suspend disbelief.

The party has maintained a narrow but consistent lead in opinion polls. A recent national poll has Labor hovering at 37 percent, the Conservatives at 35 and the Liberal-Social Democratic alliance at 26. As Labor showed last week during its annual conference in this unexciting, unchanging working-class resort on the Irish Sea, Labor is ready to suppress its internal ideological wrangles and close ranks behind its youthful leader so long as he looks like a potential winner in a general election that could come next year, although Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher could legally wait until June 1988.

Mr. Kinnock stood in front of a pastel backdrop chosen by an up-to-date media consultant and emblazoned with a soothing slogan ("Putting People First") that was plainly intended to give the lie to hard-hearted Thatcherism. By the time he spoke, his party had ratified overwhelmingly its well-publicized expulsion of a handful of Liverpool Trotskyites as an earnest of its return to the British political mainstream.

But as polls indicated that the son of a Welsh coal miner had become more credible as a possible Prime Minister, his policies — especially his stand on nuclear weapons and relations with the United States — came under more intense scrutiny. A member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament since he was 17, the 44-year-old Mr. Kinnock promises to rid Britain of both its own and American nuclear weapons.

There are distinct but related issues here: whether Britain itself needs nuclear weapons;

whether American nuclear weapons need to be stationed in Britain, and what impact a British decision to remove them would have on the alliance. When Washington signaled last week that the American reaction to Labor's policies would not be as mild as Mr. Kinnock suggests, it provoked charges of "interference" in British politics from Labor supporters who cheered their leader when he accused President Reagan of sponsoring "terrorism" in Nicaragua.

The polls indicate a deep ambivalence in the electorate over nuclear weapons. A substantial proportion of potential Labor voters indicate that they are opposed to unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain. At the same time, many of the same people are deeply worried about nuclear weapons and mistrustful of the Reagan Administration. When summit meetings and arms control pacts seem likely, such feelings subside. But a nationalist appeal, characterizing Mrs. Thatcher as subservient to the American superpower, still strikes a chord. But so does a countervailing nationalist appeal in favor of the supposedly "independent" British deterrent that

Mrs. Thatcher can be relied upon to make.

Apart from Labor and the Conservatives, the centrist alliance — the three-party grouping of the Social Democratic and Liberal parties — is being prodded by David Owen, the Social Democratic leader, to a middle-ground position that would be both nationalist and nuclear.

It remains to be seen whether defense will be the central issue when Mrs. Thatcher finally decides to go to the country in her bid to become this century's first party leader to win three straight elections. If it is, the question of whether Britain itself should be "nonnuclear" — a debatable side issue as far as Washington is concerned — could well take precedence over the key strategic and diplomatic question, whether American nuclear weapons go or stay.

Public opinion is delicately balanced and easy to misread. When the Gallup poll last month asked a sample of Britons whether their country's nuclear weapons made them feel "safe," 50 percent replied no and only 40 percent yes. But when Marplan, another pollster, changed the key word in the question to "safer," the margins were reversed, with 50 percent saying yes and only 36 percent no. An arms control agreement between Mr. Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, might pre-empt a part of Mr. Kinnock's argument by halting the deployment of cruise missiles in Britain or even leading to a reduction in their number. In any event, for Labor to be able to achieve his dream of "nonnuclear" Britain, it would not be enough for the Labor Party to emerge from an election as the party with the most seats in the House of Commons. The party would need a solid majority there — unlikely in a three-way contest.

So the question of whether there will be a crisis in the Atlantic alliance and a fundamental change in the fading "special relationship" between Britain and the United States turns not only on whether a resurgent Labor Party can outpoll its rivals but also on whether Mr. Kinnock can pull off the miracle of a landslide. The other parties are counting on the defense argument to be the rock on which he founders.



The Labor Party leader, Neil Kinnock, and his wife, Glensy, in Blackpool last week.

## A Rebel Leader's Arrest Threatens Reconciliation Talks

# With Olive Branch and Sword, Aquino Has Her Hands Full

By SETH MYDANS

MANILA — PRESIDENT Corason C. Aquino, who came to power with a dream of reconciliation, is being pushed to take sides in an increasingly polarized nation.

During what was seen here as a triumphal tour to the United States last month, she spoke of the olive branch and the sword as the two elements of her approach to the nation's Communist insurgency.

Debate over these two approaches has grown more intense as both leftist agitation and anti-Communist fears seem to be increasing while her Government gropes to find both its identity and its political balance.

Mrs. Aquino has been hearing the cry of "militarization" from those who fear that the army is seeking to become the country's dominant force. But she also hears warnings that the Communists are determined opponents of her Government, using peace talks only to further their military designs.



Rodolfo Salas in custody at a military camp near Manila last week.

Under relentless pressure from the military, voiced aggressively and almost daily by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, the "sword" of military retribution has become increasingly prominent in her public statements. The extent to which this represents a shift in her thinking, or how much it is a merely verbal concession to the powerful military bloc in her Government, remains unclear.

Last week, as she seemed on the verge of gaining the 30-day cease-fire on which she has been insisting, the military arrested one of the central figures in the insurgency, Rodolfo Salas, for years the chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Communists protested that the arrest was unfair at a sensitive point on the road toward reconciliation.

Prospects for peace talks, a cease-fire and the President's reconciliation policy are now in doubt.

However, there was encouraging word from Washington. The Senate approved late Friday a bill that included \$200 million in aid, which had earlier been voted by the House. An initial rejection by the Senate had drawn some bitterness here, and Mrs. Aquino was re-

strained in voicing her appreciation Saturday. She stressed her gratitude for the warm reception the American people had given her.

The capture of Mr. Salas, who has been a wanted man since his escape from custody in 1973, appears to have been possible only because he came to Manila in connection with the negotiations and because the military shadowed a bodyguard who accompanied the Communist negotiators.

Whatever her private reaction to the arrest, which was not reported to her office until 13 hours after it occurred Monday night, Mrs. Aquino has had no choice publicly but to praise it as a "commendable accomplishment" in defense of the republic.

## A Crucial Test

Rene Cayetano, an opposition politician closely linked to Mr. Enrile, said her reaction would be a test of her decisiveness and her allegiance to the military.

The Communists said her handling of the case will demonstrate whether she is in control of her own Government and armed forces. One Communist negotiator, Saturnino Ocampo, complained in a recent interview that the insurgents had been unable to gain her ear to present their views on the country's economic and social needs.

Mr. Ocampo said he saw the right-wing members of her Cabinet gaining increased influence, while the libertarians with whom she shared a common bent appear to

be losing ground.

This apparent shift in her priorities has been dramatized by the diminishing importance she seems to be giving human rights, an issue that was central to her philosophy when she was an opponent of President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

A commission charged with pursuing the rights violations of the Marcos years has encountered strong resistance from the military, which was responsible for most of them. The inquiry has become one of the lowest priorities of her administration. She told a visiting delegation from the rights group Amnesty International that she can no longer indulge her personal priorities now that she is President of all the Philippines, including the military.

In the months since she succeeded Mr. Marcos, Mrs. Aquino has remained the nation's unchallenged political superstar, but she is not a strong leader in the mold of her predecessor, and she lacks a fully formulated philosophy of her own.

If Mrs. Aquino drifts toward the positions of the right wing, Filipino analysts say, she could risk losing the special place she holds in the Philippines, the moral high ground that has placed her, virtually invincible, above the political fray.

If Mr. Enrile can force her to play his hard-line game, the analysts said, it will increasingly be he who holds the power and shapes the policies of the nation.



# Behind the Warring Factions in a Bloody East Beirut

By IHSAN A. HIJAZI

**A** POWER struggle involving President Amin Gemayel and three rival Christian factions erupted in several battles last week in and around predominantly Christian East Beirut.

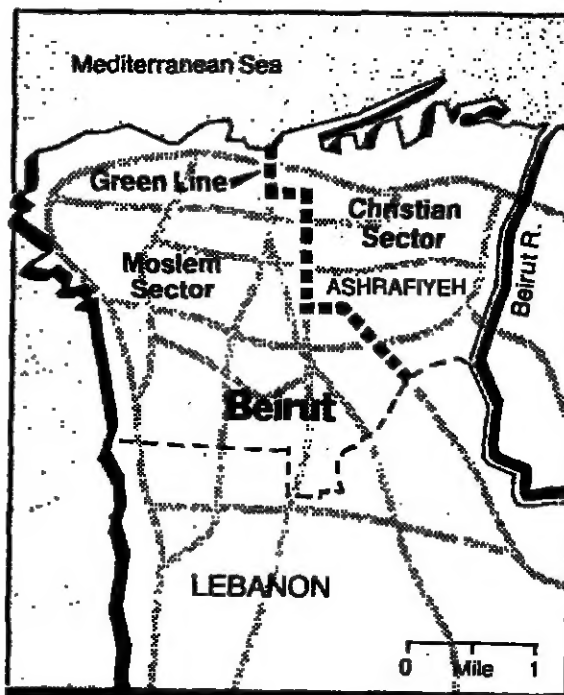
The violence began when about 300 Syrian-backed militiamen stormed predominantly Christian East Beirut from the Moslem, or western, side of the Green Line, which divides the city.

The militiamen had arrived by truck from their base in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa region, in eastern Lebanon. With the help of accomplices in Christian areas, they penetrated about one mile into Ashrafieh, the largest quarter on the Christian side of the capital. Their objective was to seize Voice of Lebanon, the largest Christian radio station, and claim control of East Beirut. But the local Lebanese Forces militia joined Christian units of the Lebanese regular army and counterattacked. The invaders were driven back across the Green Line after a day of street battles in which the police said 52 people were killed and 220 were injured.

No sooner had the raiders been defeated than the Lebanese Forces and the regular army units, who had been allies, turned their guns at each other. In one skirmish, two militiamen were killed in a dispute with regular army soldiers over a roadblock. Apparently in revenge, militiamen broke into the East Beirut home of the commander of the regular army Fifth Brigade, Gen. Khalil Kanaan, shot him to death and seriously wounded his wife. All of the factions involved in the fighting are made up of Christians of the Maronite sect, an Arabic-speaking people who trace their roots to the Phoenicians and the Crusaders and who were the majority in Lebanon before World War II. The strongholds of the Christians, who are now outnumbered by Moslems, are mostly in the northern part of the country, particularly in the mountains, and in East Beirut. Various Lebanese Moslem groups and factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization also have strong militias, and they have been fighting the Christians in 11 years of civil war.

Syria also has some 25,000 troops in the country to maintain a power balance that Damascus considers favorable. In the civil war, Syrian troops have sometimes supported the Moslem and P.L.O. fighters, sometimes the Christians. Israel has troops in a strip of southern Lebanon along the border between the two countries. Israel has supported factions of Lebanese military forces, but was not believed to have been involved in the Christian fighting around Beirut last week.

Generally, the Christians have concentrated on fighting the Moslems and Syrians, but they also have a history, pre-dating the civil war, of factional vendettas. And last week's outbreak of Christians killing Christians was not expected to be the end of such violence.



## Christian vs. Christian

Smoke rising from a Christian area of Beirut during fighting among Christian militiamen last week; a member of the Lebanese Army loyal to President Amin Gemayel who fought attempt to seize control of East Beirut.



Agence France-Press; Special Features/Sign Press/Adhar (soldier)

## The Men Who Command the Christian Forces



### Elie Hobeika, Former Banker

Elie Hobeika, a 30-year-old former banker, was ousted as commander of the Lebanese Forces, the Christian militia that is made up of soldiers from several formerly independent factions, after bloody fighting last January. He was forced out because he had urged Christian support for a Syrian-inspired peace settlement that would have reduced the power of Christians in Lebanon. Other Christians considered that position unacceptable, and perhaps traitorous. Mr. Hobeika recently established himself in the town of Zahle, in Eastern Lebanon, as the head of a force supported by Syria and its Moslem allies. Last week, his group, which is said to include about 500 fighters, attacked the Lebanese Forces, which were commanded by Maj. Samir Geagea. It was Major Geagea who led the drive to oust Mr. Hobeika in January.



### Samir Geagea, Physician

Samir Geagea was trained as a doctor at the American University in Beirut, and at 37 is commander of the Lebanese Forces, the main Christian militia, which has about 6,000 soldiers. He has been reorganizing and improving his militia at what is described as a military academy at Kesrouan, northeast of Beirut. He is vehemently opposed to the presence of some 25,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon and has collaborated closely with Israel. Israel has provided the Christian militia with \$50 million worth of weapons and ammunition, including tanks and artillery, in the last decade. Militiamen have been trained by Israeli soldiers in southern Lebanon and in Israel.



### Michel Aoun, Career Officer

Gen. Michel Aoun is a 51-year-old career officer of the Lebanese regular army, which has about 37,000 troops, half of them stationed in Christian areas of the country. During 11 years of civil war, the army, divided between its own Christian and Moslem units, has sometimes come into conflict with militias, though it has more often avoided combat. The fighting between Christian factions prompted General Aoun to attempt to use the army to impose order and protect President Amin Gemayel. Last week, army units joined with the troops of the Lebanese Forces militia to repel an attack by the group headed by Elie Hobeika, the former Lebanese Forces commander. Regular army units have been trained by American soldiers, and the United States has supplied the army with tanks, armored personnel carriers and heavy artillery.



### Amin Gemayel, President

Amin Gemayel was elected President by the Parliament in 1982 for a six-year term to replace his brother, Bashir, a Christian militia leader who had been elected President but was assassinated before assuming office. Their father, Pierre, founded the Phalange Party 50 years ago, and its militia became a major part of the Lebanese Forces six years ago. Parts of the Lebanese Forces support the 43-year-old President, others do not. His surest military support, which helps keep him in office, comes from loyal Christian-dominated units of the regular army. Mr. Gemayel opposes the overall Lebanese peace settlement negotiated by Syria on the ground that it dilutes Christian power. He has had policy differences with Maj. Samir Geagea, the Lebanese Forces leader, but his principal Christian enemy is Elie Hobeika, leader of the group that tried to move into East Beirut last week.

Gamma-Liaison/Roger Anquet (Hobeika) and Karim Daher (Gemayel); Associated Press (Geagea and Aoun)

## The Question Is Whether Shamir Can Stay the Course

# The Israelis Treasure Their National Unity Government

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

**F**OR the last 25 months, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir has been something of a politician under siege. When the Labor Party was not looking for ways to break up Israel's national unity Government before Mr. Shamir could get his chance to rotate into the Prime Minister's job, the anti-Shamir maneuvering was conducted by rivals in his Likud Party.

Somewhat Mr. Shamir always managed to hold his ground. It meant having to bite his tongue at Cabinet meetings and constantly having to run behind his colleagues, Yitzhak Moda'i, Ariel Sharon and David Levy, to defuse the political time bombs they were scattering about.

Now it seems that Mr. Shamir can finally relax. Nothing, apparently, can prevent the Labor-Likud rotation accord from being implemented and his switching posts with Prime Minister Shimon Peres Oct. 14.

In view of that realization, one of the big questions being raised among Israeli politicians these days is how long the national unity Government will last after the rotation takes place. The consensus seems to be that it will survive longer than most people expect, but not the full 25 months for which it is scheduled.

The main force holding the Government together, at least for the present, is the public popularity of a national unity coalition, in part because of the stability it has brought to the most important area of daily life — the pocketbook.

### Shamir's Priorities

According to Hanoah Smith, a polling expert, the credibility rating of the national unity Government is at about 63 percent, its highest level since polls began asking about Israeli Governments. What that means, said Mr. Smith, is that "if Labor or Likud want to break up this Government they had better have a very good excuse; otherwise the public could punish them severely at the polls."

The only legitimate reason would seem to be a split over how to respond to an Arab peace overture — the prospects of which appear remote.

Moreover, Mr. Shamir would seem to have every reason for avoiding immediate elections. He wants a chance to prove that he and his party can run the Government as effectively as Labor did. The Likud has always suffered from the appearance of incompetence in economic affairs, and this perception needs to be dispelled before the next national elections.

What is more, Mr. Shamir probably realizes that this could be his last hurrah. If elections are called before he has a chance to consolidate himself as Prime Minister — and thus bolster his position as the Likud leader — his chances of beating back Messrs. Levy, Sharon and Moda'i and emerging on top at a new party convention probably would not be very high.

Mr. Shamir's main problem, however, will probably come from within his own party over the issue of Jewish settlements in the West Bank. The coalition agreement calls for only six settlements to be built during the life of this Government, with any additional ones having to be agreed upon between the parties. Labor opposes new settlements on economic grounds. However, Mr. Sharon and Mr. Levy are expected to press hard for more, and this would force Mr. Shamir to find a way to satisfy his party while not pushing Labor to the brink.

Mr. Peres has no reason to rush into new elections, either. Although Mr. Smith's polls show Mr. Peres's approval rating at an all-time high, the rating of his party is largely unchanged. In other words, Mr. Smith said, "Peres has not really been able to translate his own improved popularity into an improvement for his party. Likud voters look at the Government and say, 'Well, our party made its contribution. Sure Peres may be a nice fellow, but that does not change our feelings about the Likud.'"

If elections were held tomorrow, there is good reason to believe that they could end in a repeat of the 1984 Labor-Likud deadlock, Israeli analysts say. Mr. Peres cannot afford to lead Labor into another electoral stalemate, if only because Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin — not to mention several younger aspirants — has not given up hope of heading the party again. During the next few months, strengthening the Labor Party is expected to be one of Mr. Peres's priorities.

However, there will also be pressures on Labor to break up the Government. As the end of Mr. Shamir's allotted 25 months approaches and elections appear to grow closer, Labor will have to emphasize its distinct ideology and party platform, separating itself from the Likud.

Labor cannot indefinitely subliminate its personality in the coalition without risking the loss of a portion of its constituency to more sharply defined left-wing parties, the analysts say.

The same is true of the Likud, they add; if it wants to prevent its voters from going to the more extreme Tachniva movement or that of Meir Kahane, the anti-Arab rabbi, Likud will have to flash its teeth.

The minute both parties revert to asserting their essential identity, the Government could start coming apart at the seams.

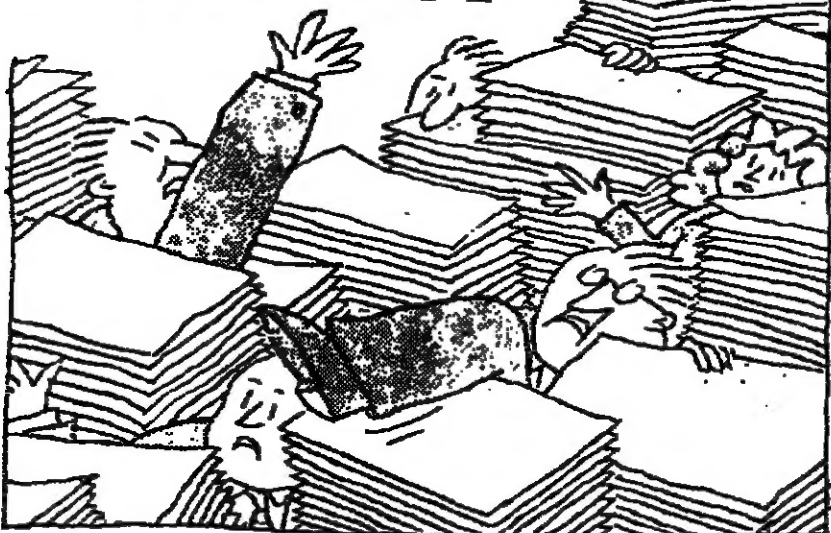


Prime Minister Shimon Peres (left) and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who are to trade jobs Oct. 14.

Corbis/Abel Robinson



# The Nation



## Congress Misses Another Target For Adjournment

According to the Senate Historian, Congress keeps records only of the dates it adjourns, not of the dates it sets for adjournment. But in recent times, the target dates have been in early October, and in this decade none have been met. This year, the date was Oct. 3, Friday. Long before then and with ritual expressions of despair — "We can't legislate," declared Representative Silvio Conte, a Massachusetts Republican — the lawmakers, quarreling with each other and the White House about foreign affairs and military and domestic spending, had resigned themselves to at least another week of deliberations before they can turn to campaigning. Matters finished and unfinished as Congress broke for the week included these:

**The budget.** With Oct. 1 marking the start of the 1987 fiscal year and not one of the 13 regular spending bills passed, the legislators early in the week gave themselves some breathing room and the Government a week's worth of emergency funding with a measure providing money until Wednesday. A Senate version of the half-trillion-dollar omnibus bill needed for the longer term passed late in the week. But it differs sharply from a House bill that would cut military spending more and place moratoriums on nuclear and other weapons testing.

**President Reagan,** unhappy with either level of reduction for the Pentagon, is adamantly opposed to mandating arms control. Yesterday, he extended his weekly radio address to 10 minutes, calling it a "briefing" to the American people. He urged Congress to strip the provisions from the spending measure, asserting that they would tie his hands at the summit meeting next weekend, and called for retaliation against lawmakers who "trifle with our national security."

**Drugs.** Unable to decide how to pass for it, the Senate nonetheless passed, 97 to 2, a \$1.4 billion anti-drug bill. Unlike a more costly House plan, it includes neither the use of the military to pursue drug dealers nor the death penalty for some of them.

**The environment.** House and Senate negotiations reached agreement on and the Senate passed a strengthened toxic waste cleanup program that would be paid for with \$9 billion in new taxes. A veto of the measure, which ends a two-year deadlock over an extension of the so-called superfund, is expected.

**Also ahead.** The Senate has yet to hold the impeachment trial of Federal Judge Harry Claiborne, who is serving a two-year prison term for income tax evasion. Lack of a compromise on changing the 55-mile-an-hour speed limit blocks money for the Federal highway program, and a dispute over railroad workers' jobs holds up the sale of Conrail.

By passing a stopgap spending bill that will last until January, the 99th Congress could leave Washington without a 1987 budget. But it cannot go without raising the Government's nearly exhausted credit limit. A measure that would increase the Treasury's borrowing authority to \$2.323 trillion from \$2.111 trillion is stalled because of a Senate amendment putting teeth back into the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget balancing law.

## Texas Applies a Fiscal 'Band-Aid'

No one found it very satisfactory — the lieutenant governor called it a "small Band-Aid" — but a package of measures designed to keep Texas temporarily solvent is in place.

After consecutive special sessions, the State Legislature agreed Tuesday to raise the sales tax about 20 percent and the gasoline tax 50 percent, cancel a pay increase for state employees, cut 1,500 jobs and reduce spending on health, welfare and higher education by \$325 million. Bookkeeping maneuvers and other cuts filled in the gaps to cover an estimated \$2.8 billion deficit.

It was bitter medicine, especially in an election year, for legislators in state where unemployment is high and taxes are anathema. Texas has no corporate or personal income

taxes; when the Legislature last met in the spring of 1985, it raised fees or imposed new ones to the tune of a billion dollars, insisting that the charges were not taxes.

But the price of oil continued to fall, and each drop of a dollar a barrel cost the state an estimated \$100 million in revenue. Governor Mark White, then the underdog in a race for re-election, called for higher taxes.

The House resisted for weeks, and many members still insist angrily that greater reductions in the budget would have been preferable. The Senate and the Governor won, and Mr. White's standing in the polls has risen steadily. But the same battles will be fought again when the Legislature meets in January to begin its search for a permanent cure for the state's fiscal ailments.

## Automakers Win a Point on Mileage

It was 1975, and the price of oil was soaring; American buyers could choose among 20 imported cars that got more than 30 miles a gallon, but only one Detroit-made model did so. A quarter of a million auto production workers were unemployed.

Congress responded with the Corporate Average Fuel Economy Act, aimed at doubling the average gas mileage of all cars made by General Motors Corporation, Ford Motor Company and the Chrysler Corporation. The law set progressively rising annual standards that were to reach 27.5 miles a gallon in 1985, with substantial fines for noncompliance.

But the consumer appetite for big cars reawakened quickly. Chrysler, which has made few large cars since its financial troubles in the early 1980's, met the standard annually. But neither General Motors nor Ford has achieved the minimum since 1982, largely because such models as the Cadillac Fleetwood Brougham and the Lincoln Town Car were selling so well.

A series of adjustments in the rules had averted penalties, but this year General Motors was facing a charge of \$365 million. The company argued that if standards were not again eased enough to avert the fine, it could be forced to stop making its larger, less efficient cars. Tens of thousands of workers, it said, would be laid off.

General Motors and Ford, which faced a \$24 million penalty, say their 1987 models will average more than 26 miles a gallon, but not very much more. Under intense lobbying — more than 10,000 letters came in, most of them from General Motors employees, suppliers and stockholders — the Department of Transportation said this week that 26 miles a gallon would suffice.

Martha A. Miles  
and Caroline Rand Herron

### Corrections

Because of a mechanical error, a headline was misplaced in a Pro & Con article about Federal bailouts in *The Week in Review* last Sunday. The effect of the error was to attribute to Senator John Melcher, a Montana Democrat, comments made by Senator William Proxmire.

The Proxmire heading, "The Principle Is a Bad One," should have appeared before the question, "Let's look back on Government bailouts. What do you say in retrospect?" It was Senator Proxmire, not Senator Melcher, who said, "I believe in noninterventionism," adding that he had opposed virtually all bailouts that had come before Congress and maintaining that business failure is as important to a capitalistic system as business success.

In the introduction to the same article, Mr. Proxmire was identified incorrectly. He is a Democrat of Wisconsin.

An article about a lawsuit against W.R. Grace & Company in *The Week in Review* last Sunday described incorrectly the disposition of the case. In July, a jury found that Grace had contributed to the pollution of two wells in Woburn, Mass., but last month the court ordered a retrial of that issue. The families of eight leukemia victims later agreed to an out-of-court settlement of their suit against the company.

## A Handful of Carriers Promise to Dominate the Skies

# Is Oligopoly a Legacy Of Airline Deregulation?

**W**HILE the deregulation of routes and fares in 1978 spawned more than a score of new carriers, only big airlines with deep pockets survived the ensuing price wars. Last week, the contraction in the number of competitors proceeded apace. The Justice Department said it would not oppose either Delta Air Lines' proposed \$860 million acquisition of Western Air Lines or Texas Air Corporation's proposed \$301 million purchase of People Express Inc. and People's bankrupt subsidiary, Frontier Airlines. Both mergers must still pass muster with the Department of Transportation, which, as expected, approved Texas Air's \$600 million purchase of Eastern Air Lines.

At the same time, United Airlines and American Airlines raised by 5 percent the fares most business travelers pay, and Trans World Airlines is expected to follow suit. But, meeting a condition for Texas Air's acquisition of Eastern, Pan American World Airways used takeoff and landing slots sold by Texas Air to start a competitor shuttle service in the Northeast.

A handful of dominant carriers seems to be regaining control of the skies. Is this oligopoly the legacy of deregulation? Nathaniel C. Nash, a reporter in the Washington bureau of *The New York Times*, asked three experts for their views. They are Alfred E. Kahn, a professor at Cornell University who, as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board under President Carter, presided over airline deregulation; Paul MacAvoy, a member of President Ford's Council of Economic Advisers and now dean of the University of Rochester's Business School, and Frederick Thayer, a professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. Excerpts of their remarks follow.

Alfred E. Kahn

## The Industry Is More Competitive

The first thing to remember is that the airline industry under regulation was an even tighter oligopoly. It had more major carriers, but the carriers were not free to compete with one another. Even if as a result of deregulation the industry were to end up with six firms, which by no means is going to happen, those six are permitted to invade one another's markets.

That said, I don't think anybody in his right mind should not be concerned about the failure rate among new entrance airlines, particularly because they have been the principal stimulus for intense price competition. But it has been the intensity of competition that has resulted in their disappearance. And no one can deny that the industry is far more competitive now.

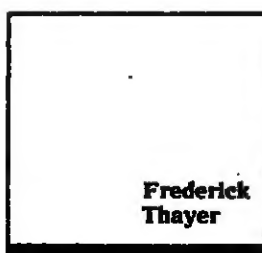
There is a strong likelihood that the deep, intense price competition will abate. Indeed, it is not sustainable because the industry as a whole is losing money. I don't think anybody could expect fares to continue at \$39 between New York and Houston or \$69 across the continent. The question is whether price competition will be suppressed as much as it was under price regulation, when your normal fare was \$300 across the continent. The answer is that it is highly unlikely.

One: six airlines is not one. Two: All carriers have learned the economics of filling planes with deeply discounted tickets for seats that otherwise would have gone empty. And third, you have the possibility of entry. No one is entering now because the industry is losing money.

Certainly many of the opponents of deregula-



Alfred E. Kahn



Frederick Thayer



Paul W. MacAvoy

tion said it would end in suppressing competition. I did not preclude that it would end up bringing more concentration. But I said that the fear that competition would suppress itself is no reason to suppress it in the first place. Most industries are oligopolistic, and yet oligopoly is not necessarily incompatible with effective competition.

I tried to deregulate slowly. But there is no way of doing it slowly. Once you started to let go, you created so many pressures that you had to let the whole thing go. Even American Airlines, which was one of the most bitter opponents of deregulation, after about nine months said, "If you are not going to protect, get out of our way."

Would I have done anything differently? I would have screamed even more loudly than I did at the time that this industry ought to be turned over to the regular antitrust agencies, not the Department of Transportation.

The Transportation people were cartels in 1978. Now that has changed. But they are showing that they have no feeling whatsoever for the importance of enforcing the nation's antitrust laws to preserve competition.

Frederick Thayer

## The Declining Safety Factor

The earlier airline system was not regulation in the conventional sense because the law required that the Civil Aeronautics Board promote competition. The problem was too much competition, too many flights on too many routes.

The problems of the regulated system were always excess capacity. That was demonstrated best in the early '70's, when the airlines suddenly went to jumbo jets and increased capacity so much that the C.A.B. agreed to restrict the number of flights coast to coast.

You seldom, if ever, have a route in the airline industry that justifies more than a normal oligopoly. In that sense, the shakeout to fewer airlines and fewer carriers on routes is a good trend.

## Liberals' Strength Surprises, Presidential Suasion Falls Short

# Primary Season Heartens Democrats

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

**T**HE last primary and the last runoff have taken place, and just a little more than four weeks remains until Election Day, 1986.

Is more known about the probable outcome and the factors at work this year than was known when the intensive stumping began on Labor Day? Yes, though things could still change radically, especially in the Senate races, which are at the center of 1986 electoral calculations.

In the two primaries that can be taken as previews of general elections, Democrats have done better than expected. Three weeks ago, Brock Adams, President Carter's Secretary of Transportation, ran a dead heat with the Republican incumbent, Slade Gorton, in Washington state's Senate primary, where there is no party registration. And last weekend, Representative John B. Breaux, a Democrat, held his Republican rival, Representative W. Henson Moore, to only 44 percent of the vote in Louisiana's open Senate primary. Mr. Moore had hoped to win a majority and thus, under the state's unusual law, avoid an election in November.

The results may prove to be false auguries, but they have heartened Democrats who face tight races in those and such other states as Idaho, Missouri, Colorado and South Dakota. It is in these states that the contest for control of the Senate will be decided. With the Democrats now holding 47 seats they need a net gain of four to return to the majority.

No matter how high the stakes or close the races, the campaign appears to have fallen flat with many voters. A North Carolina consultant says of the race in which he is deeply involved: "It's putting people to sleep." Turnouts have been 11 or 12 or 13 percent, compared with the usual 25 percent. Polltakers have had more trouble than ever finding people who say they are sure to vote and can name the candidates.

Few national issues are visible. Things that have been preoccupying the capital — like sanctions against South Africa, aid to the Nicaraguan contras and the makeup of the Supreme Court —



Mike Ike

are dismissed by a Georgia campaign manager as "just a lot of noise in the Washington echo chamber." Economic troubles, much more noticeable in some states and sectors than others, have been having an uneven effect. Senator Charles E. Grassley, an Iowa Republican, is well ahead, and Senator James Abdnor, a South Dakota Republican for whom President Reagan stumped last week, is trailing, even though agriculture has been blighted in both states by a severe recession.

Polling and other analysis suggest, however, that one reason both Mr. Adams and Mr. Breaux did better than anticipated was a tendency by voters to blame the Reagan Administration, and hence Republican candidates, for economic woes. And Mr. Breaux's showing also suggests that President Reagan, who campaigned hard for Mr. Moore, may not be able to help Republican nominees much, beyond swelling their campaign treasuries with his prodigious ability to

The difference you've had now is bloodletting fare wars, which are advertised as helping the consumers. But it is generally forgotten that airlines are losing money.

Advocates of deregulation look only at fares, not at the general financial condition of the industry, and do not choose to acknowledge the declining safety factor. When you take into account less money spent on maintenance and the aging of the fleets as the airlines do not have the money to modernize at appropriate rates, you are looking at a system that is for its day technologically inferior to what it was and is more dangerous. It is absurd to wait for a large number of accidents to admit that you have a safety problem.

But as the shakeout in the industry continues, it will have one benefit. It will tend to stabilize the structure of the industry and restrict competition, and restricting competition is generally a good thing. That is necessary in all industries.

Let me give you a historical footnote. In the depths of the Great Depression, the two Presidents that had to try to cope with it, Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt, separately asserted that there was only one cause for the Depression — cutthroat unregulated competition in virtually all industries. They both favored forms of industrywide planning.

Roosevelt and Hoover were correct. When competition compels people to cut corners in ways that they violate safety standards, I leave you to say what the effects are.

Paul MacAvoy

## We Are Closer To the Ideal

You don't judge oligopoly by counting the number of firms. You judge by the bottom line. You can have a highly competitive market with two firms. We see that in the can industry. You can have a very uncompetitive market with five firms. We see that in the steel industry.

Once you have adjusted for inflation, the average fare paid by everybody is down about 10 percent since 1978. The combination of higher quality service — takeoffs, landings and availability — is up about 25 percent over the same period. That is even the case for those businessmen who are paying a higher price because the added service offerings more than compensate for the additional price increase.

Service increases to small cities and from small cities to hubs have totaled 20 percent. There are more frequent landings and takeoffs in small planes that are more full. That may not meet some people's esthetic demands. But consumers on the whole value increased frequency.

There is a basis for believing that the overall configuring of service is not exactly in keeping with the competitive ideal. But that is true in any industry I have had anything to do with. You then ask: Is it so far from the ideal that a regulatory structure would work better?

The competitive ideal would be that fares were all set only by cost considerations and the distance between two cities, that the number of takeoffs and landings, the quality of the food and service and the quietness and newness of the airplanes in no way would depend on whether there were two or three or five airlines. We are not there yet. The fact is when five airlines are servicing two cities, the service is better.

That still does not justify moving back to regulation. We have moved closer to the ideal than we were when we had a regulatory scheme intending also to reach the ideal. I am sanguine that a market with eight firms rather than 30 firms is going to be sufficiently competitive to stay closer to the ideal than would a regulatory commission supervising those eight firms.

Given the culture of the industry, the flexibility of entry and exit, the ease of movement of capital, the maverick nature of four or five of the chief executive officers, we're not in a situation where the structure of higher concentration frightens me.

The best maxim for economic policy here is not, "Don't just stand there, do something." It's, "Don't do something, just stand there."

raise money at local rallies.

One surprise has been the success of liberal or relatively liberal candidates in Democratic primaries. Wyche Fowler Jr. beat Hagliff Jordan, the former White House chief of staff, in the Georgia senatorial primary; Representative Barbara A. Mikulski won over Gov. Harry Hughes in Maryland, and Representative Bob Edgar in Pennsylvania and former Gov. Terry Sanford in North Carolina also ran successfully to the left of rivals.

In last week's runoff here in Florida, the trend continued, with Democratic voters choosing a former state legislator, Steve Pajcik, the more liberal contender, as their party's candidate to succeed Gov. Bob Graham, who is challenging Senator Paula Hawkins, a Republican.

That does not mean, of course, that the liberals will triumph in the general election; while Representative Mikulski is running strongly in Maryland, her Republican opponent, Linda Chavez, has attacked her as a "San Francisco-style" candidate, and their opponents are running television commercials attacking Mr. Sanford and Mr. Edgar as liberal "big spenders."

The absence of salient issues and the low level of voter interest suggest that the electorate has not yet begun to focus on what could be the crucial political question of the decade: Who will lead the country into the post-Ronald Reagan era? Nothing that is going to happen this November seems destined to substantially alter the prospects of any obvious Presidential candidate in either party or to produce new hopefuls. The debate that will shape the candidates and the platforms has yet to begin.

It would be a mistake, likewise, to take this fall's outcome as a portent of things to come. Mr. Reagan fared badly at protecting his party's fortunes in 1982, and swept the country only two years later. Moreover, the sixth year of a two-term President's administration nearly always brings this party bad political results: It is not even certain that Democratic control of both houses of Congress would turn Ronald Reagan into a lame duck. Dwight D. Eisenhower, faced with a hostile Congress from 1959 to 1961, was galvanized, fighting harder for his Meas and programs than he had ever fought before.



# Sharansky wows UK Jewry

By MARTIN GILBERT

LONDON.—It was on the afternoon of Sunday, September 21, that Natan Sharansky (as he wishes his name to be spelled) arrived in London from Israel. When he left, shortly after midday on the following Sunday, he had given to the cause of Soviet Jewry in Britain an energy and a determination which were surely unique, and certainly badly needed.

During that single week, Sharansky held more than 50 meetings. I myself was present at 20 of them. Each day, from just after dawn till well after midnight, he hardly ever paused in his efforts to alert both British Jews, and the wider non-Jewish public, to the plight of the refuseniks.

Sharansky's meetings with the Jewish community began at the Albert Hall on that first Sunday night. Five thousand people gathered there to hear him (and several thousand more were unable to get tickets). No seat was empty.

When Sharansky entered the hall, he received a standing ovation. There was a second standing ovation when he rose to speak, and a third when he sat down.

In a speech reported prominently on British television and in the national press, Sharansky began by thanking British Jewry for supporting his own struggle, his wife Avital, and all Soviet Jews. In words which brought tears to many in that vast audience, he then spoke of "my concern about my brothers whom I left in the Soviet Union, my concern about their fate." And he asked his listeners, while always seeking the "practical" lines of struggle, never to lose contact with idealism. "Without idealism," he declared, "we cannot continue our struggle."

By way of illustration, Sharansky spoke of how President Mitterrand had admitted to him that when Avital had gone to see him to urge her husband's release, he, Mitterrand, thought to himself: "How can she be so naive. The Soviets will never do it." Then, three weeks ago, Mitter-



rand admitted to Sharansky: "But she was right, and I was wrong."

Particularly moving was the moment when Sharansky described the KGB's taunt to him, after showing him the British television film of Avital leading a protest outside the Soviet Embassy in London, that these protesters were only "students and housewives. They had proved in the end more powerful than the KGB."

From that night on, as he travelled without respite from one meeting to another, Sharansky urged every Jewish group to whom he spoke to go out into the wider world of non-Jewish group life to enlist support for the refusenik cause.

Public pressure was essential. For him in prison, "the worst time was when there was no public pressure." But public pressure had to have an object. That object was to bring western governments to use whatever power they had, to demand a re-opening of the gates of Jewish emigration.

At a joint meeting with the Union of Jewish Students and the Student Academic Campaign for Soviet Jew-

ry, Sharansky stressed the importance of the issue of Soviet Jewry forming a part of student activity beyond its Jewish aspects and groupings. It was especially important, he felt, for Jewish students to alert non-Jewish students to the Vienna meetings on the Helsinki process next month. There must be united student pressure at Vienna, to spotlight the Soviet Union's continued violations of the Helsinki accords.

Sharansky was prepared to bring himself to the brink of exhaustion in order to do something no one has done before: To speak to almost every Jewish organization. The six addresses which I heard (to the Joint Israel Appeal, the National Council for Soviet Jewry, the Scientists for the Release of Soviet Refuseniks, the Institute of Jewish Affairs and, twice, the Board of Deputies of British Jews) were each perfectly tailored to their audience. He also spoke to the Guild of Jewish Journalists, the rabbis of the United Synagogue, and the voluntary workers of the 35s Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry.

To each group, Sharansky reiterated the importance of making the

fate of Soviet Jews an integral and conditional part of all East-West negotiations at every level. The "linkage" without which the Jews of Russia would never be able to escape the trap.

Speaking almost always for a minimum of half an hour, sometimes for 45 minutes, each address was followed by as much as half an hour of questions. His answers were witty, informative, firm, and in every case, a call to action.

Like Churchill's efforts to warn of the Nazi danger in the pre-war years, Sharansky's efforts were conveyed with an intensity which touched each listener with a feeling that it was no longer enough just to listen.

In his final remarks to the Board of Deputies of British Jews, when he was literally on his way to the airport (for more campaigning in Holland), Sharansky told several hundred Jewish community representatives how, at one of the most intellectual of the Jewish gatherings he had spoken at (he had the courage to give its name), "I could hear there questions which show that many Jews of England don't understand the real scale of the problem."

Patiently, Sharansky reiterated the figures which he had been stressing all week: "Thousands of separated families, 400,000 Jews who have already made the decision to leave, two million people who can become the victims of forced assimilation." Sharansky then told his listeners: "Your campaign has lasted 20 years. Now, we don't have so many years."

Did Sharansky think that his efforts, and the efforts he urged upon all of us with such tenacity of purpose, would be effective? His answer was a simple one: "It must be followed up." If the Jewish organizations do undertake this follow-up, and if they pursue it with anything like the zeal which Sharansky displayed throughout his week of endeavour, then his visit will surely have been a triumph of personal advocacy in what as he himself made clear, is a universal cause. (This is the first of two articles.)

denied visitation rights until May 1987.

SEPTEMBER 29

Former prisoner of Zion Alexander Paritsky, of Kharkov, whose health was seriously damaged in labour camp, is receiving medical attention in a Moscow hospital for heart problems. He was told by the Ovir immigration office that he, his wife Polina and their two daughters will have to wait an additional 15 years for an exit visa.

SEPTEMBER 30

After 12 years in refusal, Leonid Vainshtein, 38, a mechanical engineer in Moldavia, left Kishinev today to be reunited in Israel with his family.

Wives of prisoners of Zion and refusenik families from various cities sent Rosh Hashana greetings to the president and people of Israel. They expressed the hope that lasting peace will come to Israel, and that they will be allowed to return to their ancestral homeland.

In another letter on the new year, Ida Nudel, in her 15th year in refusal, thanked friends around the world who have expressed concern and sympathy for Soviet Jews. "I firmly believe that the efforts of many people of good will directed towards the resolution of humanitarian problems will bear fruit."

OCTOBER 1

Binyamin Bogomolny, 40, one of the longest term refuseniks — he's listed in the Guinness Book of World Records — received permission to immigrate to Israel with his wife, Tatiana. Bogomolny, who suffered many years of KGB harassment, will rejoin his parents, who arrived in Israel in 1970.

Jewish activist, Abram Markman, 26, of Minsk, his wife Tania and their two daughters also received permission to emigrate. His parents, Olga and Maatvi Markman, have been living in Israel since 1980.

## News calendar

term by applying the recently instituted Article 188/3. Under this article, a prisoner's term can be extended by up to three years for violation of camp discipline.

SEPTEMBER 25

In what was viewed as a courageous act during a period of increased repression, 66 aliyah activists, including the wives of prisoners of Zion and many former prisoners, wrote an appeal to Soviet authorities for the release of Yosef Begun, whose situation "has become alarming." They said he was being destroyed physically only because he openly defended his views and worked on behalf of the Jewish people.

SEPTEMBER 26

Semion Borovinsky, 38, a refusenik since 1981, was tried in an open court in Leningrad today, charged with refusing to testify at the March 1986 trial of refusenik Vladimir Lifshits, who was sentenced to three years for "slandering the Soviet

state," the court, after a 20-minute hearing, sentenced Borovinsky to five months of "corrective" work, during which time 15 per cent of his salary will be withheld by the state.

Lifshits, meanwhile, has been placed in a prison hospital in the remote Kamchatka region, his wife Anya learned today. He apparently is being given a complete medical check-up, after concern for his health was expressed abroad.

Ina Begun, wife of Yosef Begun, the longest serving prisoner of Zion, has been denied correspondence with her husband for seven months. But today, she got a letter — over 100 pages long.

In the book-length letter, Begun does not mention one word about himself or his health, but describes and analyzes books he has read. Begun's family and friends regard this lack of any personal information as worrisome. Ina was recently told by the authorities that she would be

### Addresses of some Israeli citizens in USSR

Begun, Ina,	Moscow, 129243 Raketai Bulvar 11, Korpus 1, Apt. 15.
Berenshtein, Fanya,	Kiev, 252147, Ulitsa Entuziastov 35, Apt. 140.
Brailevsky, Viktor,	Moscow, 117526, Prospekt Vernadskogo 99, Korpus 1, Apt. 128.
Levin (Nepomniaschy), Eda,	Odessa 39, Ulitsa Gagarina 16, Korpus 4, Apt. 5.
Torgoutskaia, Zhanna,	Odessa 39, Ulitsa Gagarina 16, Korpus 4, Apt. 5.
Nudel, Ida,	Moldavian SSR, Bendery, 278100, Ulitsa Sovetskaya 69/2.
Slepak, Vladimir,	Moscow, 121002, Ulitsa Voznitsa 9/10, Apt. 51.
Volovskiy, Mila,	Gorky, 603081, Ulitsa Krilova 14-A, Apt. 115.
Yakir, Alexander,	Moscow, 117485, Ulitsa Profsoyuznaya 96, Korpus 5, Apt. 35.

From the Soviet Jewry Education and Information Centre.

## Martin Gilbert

Last week (September 29) a Jew celebrated his 50th birthday. He did so, not with his wife in their small apartment, but in labour camp. His name is Roald Zelichenok. Last year he was given a three year sentence for so-called "anti-Soviet activity."

Alec (as he likes his friends to call him) had never sought to change or alter Soviet society, but only to leave the Soviet Union for Israel. He and his wife Galina were not dissidents determined to see a different Russia, but refuseniks dreaming that one day their exit visas would be granted.

While waiting for his refusal to be reversed, Alec taught Hebrew. Some of his pupils live today in Israel. Others, like him, are still forced to remain in the Soviet Union. Alec, also absorbed himself in Jewish history, and had a lively view, too, of Israeli life and politics — in which he so wished (and still in remote Siberia wishes) to participate.

If I call Zelichenok by his nickname, it is because, although we have never met, he and I have been in personal correspondence. Indeed, among the so-called "proofs" of his anti-Sovietism was a letter which he wrote me two years ago. In this letter he spoke of his fears for the two million Russian Jews who had no means of learning about their Jewish heritage, whose Jewishness (as he expressed it) "gives them only trouble, converts them into third class citizens." These Jews, he warned me, and others to whom he wrote,

## A birthday without joy



Roald and Marina Zelichenok

could disappear from Jewishness altogether in a decade. "Forcible assimilation" was what he called it: a Holocaust without bloodshed: the final destruction of the third largest mass of Jews in the modern world.

For expressing these fears, Alec Zelichenok was given a three-year sentence. His wife Galina, who entertained me in Leningrad two weeks after Alec had been sentenced, was able to visit him recently, for two days, in his labour camp. She found him unwell, and is fearful.

At the time of his arrest Roald Zelichenok suffered from high blood pressure and hypertension and needed a special salt-free diet. Since his imprisonment his condition deteriorated until he had to be transferred to a prison hospital in early 1986, to be treated for intestinal bleeding. After three weeks in hospital, and a

course of injections and tablets for his blood condition, his state of health improved enough for him to be sent back to labour camp.

IN THE LABOUR camp, Alec, though still far from well, must work with rigour. On September 2 he wrote to Galina: "Now it is five o'clock in the morning. I have filled with salt-solution one more filter and I can write, now that the washing is going on." Later in this same letter he writes: "It is already ten o'clock in the morning and I have slept a little. Now I am sleeping not eight hours in a row but every few hours, when the work permits it. I have to feed one more filter, and after this I together with another man will put the salt in the pit for salt-solution. Everyday it is necessary to put there 700 kilograms of the salt. Later I have to make an analysis of water, but now I

can write a little more."

A little further on in his letter, Alec tells his wife: "Life is not simple here. It is bad that there is constant stress, but nothing can be done. The weather is warm now so evenings and nights are cool. All people here think that the winter will be very severe. The winter is considered a very serious thing here. The amount of work is increasing very much and everyday life becomes harder. What can be good about the cold and the strong wind!"

Alec ends his letter: "I have to find some solution before winter comes, but I have learnt to treat such situations calmly."

During his trial, Zelichenok protested vigorously to the court that he was not anti-Soviet. "I am glad and proud," he said, "that I signed the appeal to the government of Israel and the Soviet Union to improve relations." And he added: "Without good relations with the Soviet Union, and with the great Russian people, our people will not survive the present moment."

Alec's declaration continued: "We must remember what happened during the war and in those years after the war that preceded the formation of our state, and what an enormous role the Soviet Union played in granting help to our people. It is not a question of emotions or of some political situation; today, it is for us a question of life or death."

With Alec Zelichenok in labour camp, the recent Israeli-Soviet consular discussions in Helsinki, and the Perez-Shevarnadze meeting in New York last week, take on a special meaning, and a special urgency.

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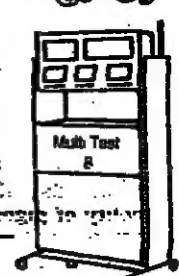
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## The President, Imagined

No, says a spokesman, the President won't have a news conference before he leaves to meet Mikhail Gorbachev in Reykjavik. It's a special shame, and not just because Mr. Reagan has averaged only seven a year. Rarely has the public so needed to hear from the President.

Then what's the next best thing? A simulation. It's easy to imagine reassuring Presidential answers to three urgent questions.

Q. Mr. President, you've left much confusion about your policy on lying to the public. Did your Administration lie in order to promote news articles that would rattle Libya's Colonel Qaddafi?

A. Well, it has never been our policy to mislead or lie to the media, ever. If a misguided official might have done so in this matter, I regret it and want now to reaffirm our commitment to truth. We know how freely Communist countries sacrifice truth to expediency, and we know how important it is that a free government and a free press speak with a credible voice. There may have to be exceptions in war, but then you'd be on notice. Otherwise, truth is our best defense — and offense.

Q. Sir, you took an unusually stubborn position on sanctions against South Africa, even after Congress passed them. Now both houses have overridden your veto. Will you carry out the law ungrudgingly?

A. Well, I'm not happy about Congress taking over executive branch responsibility for conducting foreign policy. But the law stands higher than any policy. I intend to honor my oath of office to execute the law faithfully.

I hate apartheid every bit as much as the people who wrote the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. What we have differed about is which means are

most effective. Now Congress demands regulations telling how to carry out sanctions, and Treasury and Commerce are already doing that. Congress says to stop South African Airways, and the Transportation Department will soon lay out the details. We'll do all that's required, with diligence and care.

But that's just a technical answer. It's also our duty to comply with the spirit of the law. That's why I've asked Secretary of State Shultz and Assistant Secretary Crocker, who've worked tirelessly for constructive progress, to refine our policy toward southern Africa and take maximum advantage of the new law. I don't intend to be grudging. I want what all decent people want: to end apartheid and promote a peaceful evolution in South Africa.

Q. Mr. President, some of your supporters think you made a bad deal for a Soviet spy and fear you'll come back from Reykjavik empty-handed. Other people think you agreed to go because even a media event will help the Republicans keep control of the Senate next month. What do you hope for from this meeting?

A. Well, it's way too early to second-guess a deal because so far, there is no deal. What there is between Mr. Gorbachev and me is a desire to have the most productive summit possible. We both think this meeting can advance that goal. You know how I want the election to turn out. But my negotiations with the Soviet Union transcend the interest of any party or any one Administration.

Just think about the things that have now fallen into place. America has rebuilt its strength and its confidence. The Russians have a serious and ambitious new leader — ambitious mainly at home, I hope. These are trends to build on. I pray that I can.

Thank you, Mr. President.

## First Monday in October

The summer's debate about William Rehnquist's fitness to be Chief Justice battered the Supreme Court as much as its new leader. It aroused fear among legal scholars and politicians that a chief with a 15-year record of hostility to civil rights and civil liberties, joined by a conservative new Justice, Antonin Scalia, would produce fundamental changes in law.

To the extent that such fears are warranted, they hurt the Court — and that should trouble the justices as much as the public.

The speculation hurts by disparaging the ideal of a government of laws and not of men. The claim that objective justice is a myth hardly mitigates the problem. Americans treasure the ideal as worth pursuing even if it can never be fully realized. They look to the courts for wisdom, objectivity and fairness of the sort they never expect from the other branches of government.

The Court's ability to deliver depends in part on the statesmanship of its Chief Justice. He can do much to insure that his colleagues honor their judicial duty instead of pursuing a mostly political agenda. He can help the Court to live with precedent, departing only in principled directions that can be convincingly charted. He can help it resist the temptation to rekindle debates over issues like abortion and the exclusionary rule unless case and circumstance clearly require it.

## Miracle on Fifth Avenue

Hail the return of the New York Public Library. Today it offers computer bibliographies and ready access to whatever is written to any who ask. Its reach stretches beyond 84 branches to most of the world's leading libraries, whose riches can be tapped without charge. Also free are millions of archival pictures, specialized collections, gallery exhibitions and the company of the complacent lions on its front steps.

Yet only six years ago this proud, actually private institution was nearly broke. One gloomy survey forecast a \$50 million deficit unless the library sold some of its prized possessions and curtailed services. Instead, however, the library's board and its new president, Vartan Gregorian, reached out for public and private support with an imaginative campaign. They exploited to the full the library's partnership with local and Federal governments. The endowment swelled from \$85 million to \$140 million, and the annual operating budget now tops \$100 million.

Some of those who most rejoice in the Rehnquist and Scalia appointments protest a double standard: liberals feel free to shatter precedents when they're in control, so why should right-leaning justices submit to greater constraints? On issues like abortion and the exclusionary rule, at least, that argument won't wash. The Court's decisions about a woman's liberty and right to privacy are hardly radical. Illegally seized evidence is no more acceptable for use in American courts in 1986 than in 1914, when the exclusionary rule was fashioned. Both positions grew out of experience and plainly evolving understandings of constitutional liberty.

Wisdom and fairness should transcend any political stance. Some of the Court's finest moments have come when the objective judge overruled the opinionated lawyer. Justice John Harlan deplored vulgarity yet upheld a man's right to write his contempt for the military draft on his jacket. Justice Lewis Powell detested campus radicals but held that they had every right to organize. Justice Rehnquist, momentarily shedding his pre-Victorian personal views about women, delivered the Court's first judgment that sexual harassment violated civil rights law.

On this first Monday in October, let that splintered tradition, and not just the election returns, be uppermost in the justices' minds.

Having achieved one milestone, the library is heading for another: to raise \$307 million from private and public sources in five years. This would secure and extend the current gains and, not unimportantly, help preserve vanishing assets. Half the 29 million volumes in its research collections are printed on acidic paper that ultimately crumbles into dust. Many are dolorously marked "final use only," meaning they can be consulted only once more. Conservation is costly. It is one urgent reason for a generous response.

No accolade to the library is more pertinent or unlikely than Lenin's. While in exile in 1913, he somehow chanced upon an annual report that listed the New York system's multifarious services. In a marveling article for Pravda, he noted that eight million books were lent annually, without question, to be read at home. "Such is the way things are done in New York," he remarked. "And in Russia?" The contrast persists. Let the library's five-year plan sustain and sharpen it.

### Topics

## Waterways and Airways

### Invisible Monument

When completed in 1990, the first phase of New York City's third water tunnel will be all but invisible to most city residents. Its heart, a 600-foot-long distribution chamber in which water under pressure will be routed from 24-foot tunnels to 8-foot pipes and back into tunnels again, is taking shape 280 feet under Van Cortlandt Park. Those who do see it have to marvel at the ingenuity and foresight of those who built it to last more than a century.

Water supply engineers are usually as hard to see as their underground works. One of them, Martin Hauptman, assistant director of the Bureau of Water Supply and its special consultant on engineering, now comes

briefly to the public eye. At 74, he is retiring from city service.

Mr. Hauptman has served New York since 1939, except for wartime duty building airfields in the South Pacific. Intimately familiar with problems of the shafts and tunnels, valves and impoundments installed in earlier days, he has tried to insure that modern methods will protect future generations from supply interruptions and untold maintenance costs. The third water tunnel is an invisible monument to Captain Hauptman.

### Eternal Question

Pan American World Airways took full-page ads recently to tout its new

shuttle services between New York and Washington and Boston — and to raise a classically puzzling question.

The ad featured 30 sketches of airplanes, alternately labeled "Pan Am" and "Eastern," a shuttle competitor. The departure time of each Pan Am plane was printed over it in bold letters — every hour on the half hour — while each Eastern plane was marked "1/2 hour later." Of course that is also 1/2 hour earlier than the next Pan Am plane. So which is earlier and which later?

The answer doesn't really matter, any more than it matters whether a glass is half empty or half full. What counts is that consumers now have twice as many choices as before the competition in shuttles resumed.

### Letters

## Arms Control: If Not Now, When? If Not Us, Who?

To the Editor:

It is disarming to find you parroting the Reagan Administration line that a moratorium on testing of nuclear weapons threatens our national security ("The Arms Race Has No Quick Fix," editorial, Sept. 28). You characterize the moratorium as "the constraint Mikhail Gorbachev has long sought," but in fact the first such moratorium was initiated by President Eisenhower on Oct. 31, 1958, and a comprehensive test ban has been sought by every President from John F. Kennedy through Jimmy Carter, until Ronald Reagan.

You recognize that the verification arguments against the moratorium are a "smokescreen," and that the Administration's principal opposition to it is that it needs nuclear tests to develop the nuclear-powered X-ray laser, which you term "one of 'Star Wars' most promising components."

But it is ironic that the Strategic Defense Initiative program, whose goal is to make nuclear weapons "obsolete," has become the main reason for continuing nuclear testing, especially since the President has described it on at least 17 occasions as consisting solely of research into "nonnuclear" defenses.

To compound the irony, when one studies the unclassified proposed S.D.I. systems architectures, one learns that the X-ray laser is not considered particularly promising by those in the "Star Wars" office who are designing the systems architectures, and that it is not featured in the principal architectures. This is because for technical reasons the X-ray laser is less good for shooting down intercontinental ballistic missiles than it is as an antisatellite weapon used in a surprise first strike to knock

down space-based "Star Wars" defenses of the other side.

Rather than providing leverage to bring about arms control, the X-ray laser can't be developed into a weapon without being tested in space in violation of not just the antiballistic missile treaty, but also the outer space treaty and the limited test ban treaty, shredding a quarter-century of arms control successes.

A testing moratorium would stop development of the X-ray laser by both sides, and also dozens, perhaps hundreds, of new varieties of nuclear weapons, such as are being developed at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, fueled by millions of dollars from the S.D.I. program.

Do you genuinely believe that the U.S. and the Soviet Union are likely to be better off if both develop hundreds of new varieties of nuclear weapons? You call the belief that the arms race is driven only by technology "simplistic." But the action-reaction syn-

drome has been one of the most destructive aspects of the arms race, and as you recognize, one cannot deploy a weapon one has never tested.

You suggest that the Congressionally imposed moratorium would give the Kremlin its most ardently sought objectives "for nothing in return." But the moratorium restrains not only U.S. weapons development, but also Soviet weapons development. Contrary to your statements, Donald Kerr, director of the Los Alamos Laboratory, has testified before Congress that the MX, Trident D-3 and Midgetman warheads are already tested at full yield and can be certified as ready by the Department of Energy.

Thus, today, the two nations have a rough equivalence of nuclear power, and a mutual moratorium would constitute mutual restraint. Restraints that do not benefit both sides don't last. A one-year moratorium could become a permanent injunction only if the Russians, too, made their moratorium permanent. To many of us in Congress, that would seem a major step forward in controlling the qualitative arms race.

"Further limits on testing are highly desirable," you conclude, "but only after the arms race itself has been constrained." This formula echoes the arms-control approach of the Reagan Administration, which for six years has seemed to say to each possible limit on the arms race — not this, not now, not yet, maybe later, after we make some real progress, maybe then.

But if not now, when? If not us, who?

JOHN KERRY

Washington, Sept. 30, 1986

The writer, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, is a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations.



Jackson Kim

## The Competition Glut Killed People Express

To the Editor:

In your front-page article on the failure of People Express (Sept. 23), you and all those you interviewed begin with the questionable premise that the "fall" of any company is somehow due to poor management. The premise is that it is impossible to have far too many companies, and far too much capacity, in any industry.

The logical reason for any increase in business failures is simply excessive competition or overcapacity, a chronic condition regularly reported on your business pages. Managers widely praised for excellence, as were those of Braniff and People Express, do not suddenly become stupid. In conditions of overcompetition, good management cannot insure survival, and bad management does not guarantee failure.

Admittedly, recognition of overcompetition requires abandoning a fundamental economic assumption, but a wider depression is guaranteed unless the assumption is thrown away.

FREDERICK C. THAYER  
Professor of Public and Int'l Affairs  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, Sept. 23, 1986

## Currency Tonic Can't Cure Trade Ailments

To the Editor:

In "Pump Up Trade, Not the Dollar" (editorial, Sept. 24), you correctly observe that a year ago it was widely assumed that if the dollar were to drop by 20 to 30 percent, United States exports would surge and relieve protectionist pressures. The idea that trade flows can be altered by exchange-rate changes is conventional, deriving from the mercantilist demand-side trade model. It was behind President Nixon's decision to "float" the dollar in 1971 by breaking its link to the gold reserves.

Classic supply-side theory holds that the terms of trade can't be changed — between the U.S. and Japan, for example — merely by altering the value of the accounting units, the dollar and the yen. My political and economic consulting organization advised officials of the Administration (as well as clients) last fall that because Japan was causing the yen to appreciate against the dollar by tightening monetary policy, Japan would slow its economy and run larger trade deficits with the U.S.

If Japan would now ease monetary policy, its economy would expand, as Treasury Secretary James A. Baker

3d recommends, and the U.S. trade deficit would shrink, even as the dollar would appear to grow stronger relative to the yen — contrary to the conventional wisdom at the Department of Commerce. You are on the right track.

You are also correct in that investments in the third world would shrink the U.S. trade deficit, and you urge the industrial world to take those risks. The problem, though, is the bureaucracy of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, which remains wedded to the conventional, mercantilist economic model — forcing third-world nations to accept currency devaluations and tax austerity in ways that triple the risks to outside (and internal) investment.

Secretary Baker, Representative Jack Kemp of New York, and Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey are each pressing for abandonment of the I.M.F. austerity model in favor of growth. Growth in Europe, Japan and the third world would wipe out the United States trade deficit in a more pleasant way than through a deep U.S. recession.

JUDE WANNISKI  
President, Polyconomics  
Morristown, N.J., Sept. 24, 1986

## Mental Illness Is No Bar to Buying a Gun

To the Editor:

Ursula Schwerin discussed senseless killings by emotionally disturbed people in "Two Shootings, One Lesson: Gun Control" (Op-Ed, Sept. 15), on the shooting spree last August at New York City Technical College and a post office in Oklahoma. Then she came to her solutions for preventing such incidents in the future.

Like many intelligent people, she assumed that a waiting period and a simple background check on a person applying for a firearm would reveal mental illness. Unfortunately, her assumption is wrong. We are more concerned with a person's civil liberties than in preventing such tragedies.

Doctors are not allowed to tell us who is emotionally disturbed until that person has been committed, and by then it is usually too late.

I am a gun dealer who sells over 5,000 guns a year, so I speak from experience. I receive a list that tells me which credit cards not to honor, but nobody provides me or the police with a list of emotionally disturbed people. If the police had such a list, they could turn down the application to purchase a firearm by a disturbed person, thus possibly preventing a tragedy.

President Reagan was shot by a man who was legally allowed to buy a firearm because his doctor was honor-bound not to reveal his patient's emotional illness.

Until we are willing to admit that our lives are more important to us than our civil liberties, these tragedies will continue, and gun-control laws will remain, as they are today, meaningless.

MARVIN B. HOFFMAN  
Newington, Conn., Sept. 21, 1986

## Homeowner's Edge

To the Editor:

It is common knowledge that owning a home is becoming an impossible dream for more and more middle-class Americans.

Now Congress has taken the astonishing step of making home ownership a prerequisite to an affordable college education.

By eliminating the interest deduction for student loans and at the same time permitting the use of interest-deductible second mortgages for the payment of college tuition, a double standard has been created.

Congress should either restore the favorable tax treatment of student loans, or else the Federal Government should grant special tax treatment to non-homeowners in need of funds for college.

WILLIAM McPHILLIAN  
Burlington, Mass., Sept. 28, 1986

## 'Next Time You See a Farm Sale on TV, It Will Probably Be Us'

To the Editor:

I am writing in regard to the farm and ranch situation out here in the Midwest. I wonder if people who live in big cities really know how bad it is out here, and what is happening.

We are a couple, ages 53 and 48, who have farmed and ranched all our lives. We do not have a large operation, but a midsize one. We live in the Nebraska panhandle, next to the Wyoming-South Dakota border. It is quite remote.

I work part time in a little 20-bed hospital, and have worked here for the last 22 years. We were never able to make money, but did make ends meet and managed to break even until about two and a half years ago, when the oil and gas industry was deregulated. All of a sudden, our fuel prices skyrocketed, and repairs for our farm machinery went sky high, way beyond belief.

We suddenly found my check was not sufficient, and we had to borrow money for operating expenses. We could no longer afford to keep our son, who was living on the ranch, and he was

forced to take his family and leave. Soon, the bank started coming down on us hard! Last August it served a foreclosure notice on us, and we took what savings we had, hired a lawyer and went into Chapter 11 bankruptcy.

The bank is now trying to stop our bankruptcy, not letting us sell land to pay off our debts, stopping the sale of our cattle, the proceeds of which will ultimately go to the bank, every red cent. We do not get a penny for our work or living expenses.

What they are doing to us out here is beyond belief or comprehension. My check for what little I make can only help keep food on the table. If they have their way, they will soon stop that. They want our souls, they want us out in the gutter, with nothing but the

clothes on our backs. This is what is happening to us out here in the Midwest farming and ranching country. The next time you see a farm sale on television, it will probably be us — all you see and hear is true.

We are trying to reorganize and get our debts paid off, but the bank will not hear of it. We are not in any way trying to cheat our bank; we are trying to reorganize.

We have prayed until we are almost exhausted. We are desperate! People around here are committing suicide. They can no longer stand the pressure. It is our hope and prayer that something can be done before it's too late. "Farm Aid" was a wonderful gesture, but we did not benefit from it.

DONITA LEELEIGH  
Crawford, Neb., Sept. 22, 1986



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# WASHINGTON James Reston

## How to Fool the People

Like most members of the human race, government officials make mistakes occasionally. But President Reagan has mastered the art of no-fault politics. He just pretends mistakes never happen.

He said recently that there would be no deal to swap a Soviet spy for an innocent American reporter. Then he cut the deal and said he didn't. The Russians blinked, he explained.

A couple of days later, The Washington Post reported that on Aug. 14 the President approved a plan by John M. Poindexter, his latest national security adviser, to leak "disinformation" to the press that the Libyan dictator, Muammar el-Qaddafi, was about to mount another terrorist campaign and that the United States might have to bomb him again.

"One of the key elements," the three-page Poindexter memorandum

said, according to The Post, "is that it combines real and illusory events — through a disinformation program — with the basic goal of making Gadhafi think that there is high degree of internal opposition to him within Libya, that his key trusted aides are disloyal, that the U.S. is about to move against him militarily."

At a meeting in the White House family theater last Thursday morning, the President kept a previously scheduled date with a few newspaper columnists and media commentators to discuss his forthcoming meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Iceland, and he was asked about the Post story.

"I challenge the veracity of that entire story that I read this morning with great shock," the President said. Admiral Poindexter wouldn't say whether he had written the memo, and couldn't remember whether The Post's quotes were accurate, but he

denied that anybody was trying to use or deceive the press. Later the President said, "We are not telling lies or doing any of these disinformation things." This may be added to his crisis of credibility.

In the long story of Presidents using the press as an instrument of their foreign policy, these may seem to be minor incidents.

But the irony is that the Reagan Administration, which is supposed to be so clever at the arts of propaganda, was so clumsy and obvious.

All governments mislead the press and the people to some extent, particularly when they're in trouble, but most of them are usually smart enough not to write three-page memos on their calculated plans of deception. And some are even wise enough to admit their mistakes rather than make them worse.

Mr. Reagan himself has from time

### Reagan's no-fault politics

to time pulled back when he was on a wrong-way street. His withdrawal from Lebanon, and his reversals on nuclear arms control policy are cases in point. But lately, as in his South African policy, he has been defying the Congress and is now in danger of losing control of key elements of his foreign and domestic policies.

Maybe this was bound to happen. He has come to the end of another fiscal year, and although the magic of his personality remains, his poli-

cies are not matching his promises. It is now coming out that after only six months in office he was told that his budget cuts wouldn't match his tax cuts and that his Administration was moving decisively away from its promise to balance the budget. The disinformation techniques were at work even then.

Total Government employment has not come down but has increased from 4,966,000 in fiscal '81 to 5,210,000 in fiscal '86. Federal expenditures likewise have increased from \$590.9 billion to \$878.9 billion. And though inflation has come down, almost everything else has gone up.

The Federal debt during his Administration had doubled by 1985 and has now crossed the \$2 trillion mark. Net interest on the debt has almost tripled, the trade deficit is now four times larger than it was when he came into office, and for the first time

since 1959 the United States is now a net importer of food.

As a result, the political dialogue is changing. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, for example, remarked on these economic figures the other day:

"Now this sort of thing happens all the time in government. Honest mistakes are made; wishes don't come true. But generally speaking, the integrity of the process is preserved."

Not so this time. Ideology corrupted. Rather than give up its beliefs, the Administration sacrificed its integrity.

The President's popularity with the people remains. The people like him because they are like him: hopeful, amiable and more interested in personality than in the facts.

Tom Wicker is on vacation.

## Reagan's Opportunity

By William H. Luers

President Reagan's forthcoming meeting with Soviet Premier Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Iceland deserves full bipartisan support. No President since Dwight D. Eisenhower has possessed such credibility in dealing with the Soviet Union. Mr. Reagan could never be accused of being soft on any Communist. Whatever package he negotiates is therefore virtually assured of approval in Congress and in the nation at large.

William H. Luers, president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, was ambassador to Czechoslovakia from 1983 to 1986.

We have a rare opportunity over the next year to reach agreements with the Soviet Union on a significant reduction of medium range missiles in Europe; a framework for a 30 percent cut in warheads on strategic missiles; a definition of terms to preserve the ABM treaty; a limitation on chemical weapons; and a schedule for phasing down nuclear testing.

The criticisms of the President's decision to meet with Mr. Gorbachev seem to flow from narrow political and tactical considerations. He is accused, for example, of exploiting the summit to influence November's Congressional elections. But Mr. Reagan himself is not running and will not run for office again. In any case, the elections are likely to turn largely on local and domestic issues.

Others see the summit as part of a bad deal to free Nicholas Daniloff. True, the Administration's macho rhetoric (and its obvious ignorance of similar past incidents) added confusion to this dismal affair. But the deal

achieved our major objectives, including the release of Yuri Orlov, a symbol of the human rights movement.

The President is also accused of "personalizing" summitry by suggesting the profound differences between the two superpowers can be resolved by personal contact between two leaders. Nearly every President since Franklin D. Roosevelt has been subjected, not without validity, to the same criticism. Somehow I think Mr. Reagan is the least vulnerable of all to the blandishments of the Kremlin.

Finally, the President is said to be inadequately prepared. It is true that his White House has been more effective at political theater than at conceptual and intellectual leadership in foreign policy. Yet this summit and its successors should serve to focus the attention of both Washington and Moscow on issues that have been under study for years.

Mr. Reagan's decision to engage the agenda personally carries one overriding advantage. Since 1981, his

Administration has been deeply divided over arms control. The Department of Defense and other agencies have blocked the Secretary of State and the White House on talks with the Russians. Mr. Reagan has now chosen to intervene, and if he can achieve a clear agreement on a comprehensive agenda with the Russians, he will be committed to that agenda in subsequent summits. It is distressing and ironic that some of those who now condemn him for meeting Mr. Gorbachev at a preparatory summit are the people who have condemned his earlier failure to become directly involved in organizing his Administration's foreign policy.

Summitry is not a science. Each President has approached the task differently and has often been out of phase with his Soviet counterpart. Mr. Eisenhower came to summitry after Stalin's death — not an opportune time for major initiatives. John F. Kennedy came to summitry too soon — he was startled and outclassed in Vienna, al-

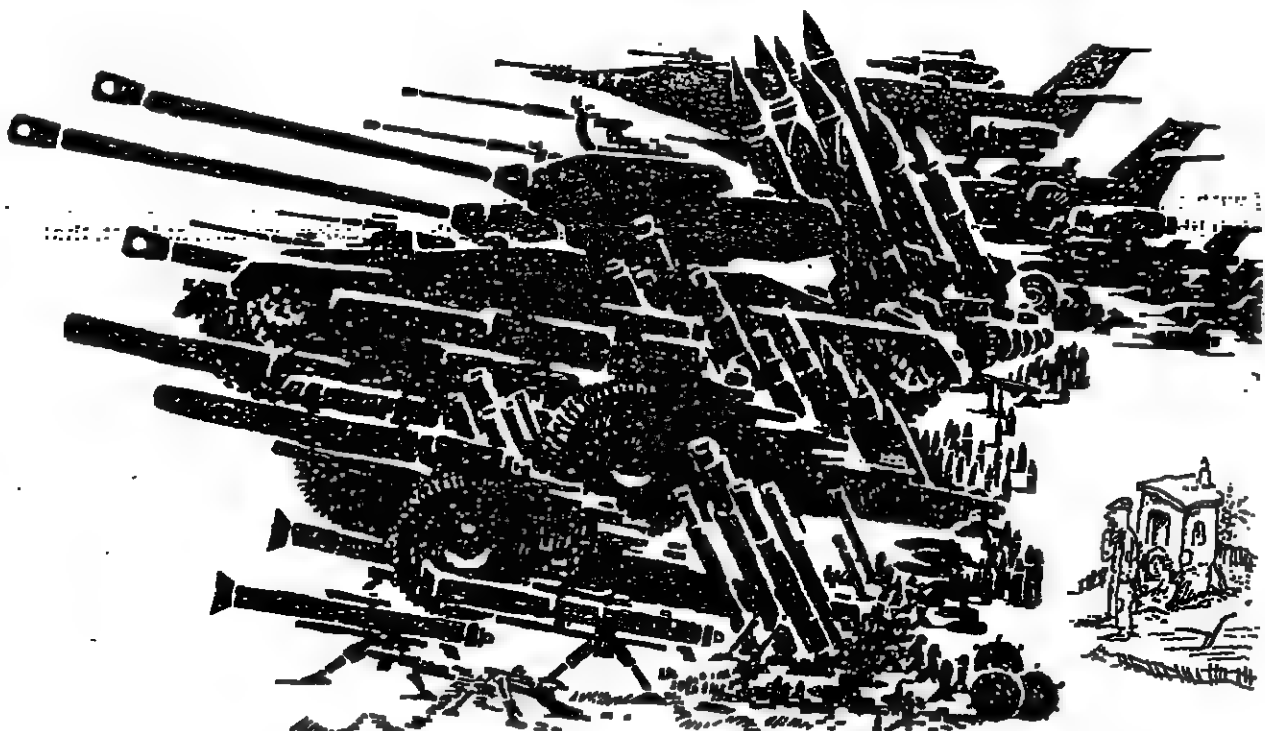
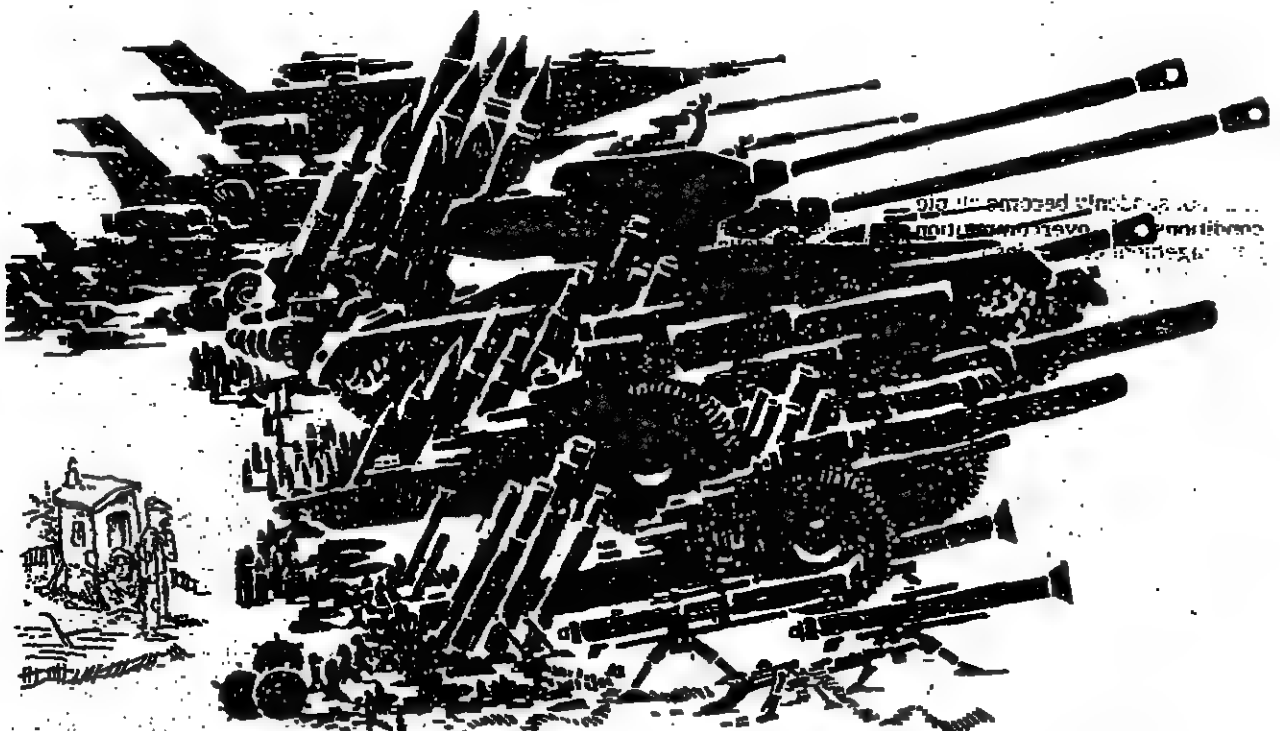
though he achieved the Test Ban Treaty before his death. President Johnson's attempts at summitry toward the end of a war-torn Presidency (and in the shadow of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia) were acts of desperation. President Nixon was the first to evolve a coherent vision of the role of East-West summitry, and he achieved a major arms control agreement. But by 1974 he was using summitry in a vain effort to save his job. Jimmy Carter's summitry suffered from an unresolved Administration and a weak domestic base.

Mr. Reagan's base is solid. There is no sense of desperation. He has two years to carry forward a program. He has finally begun to tone down his rhetoric, and he is dealing with a man in the Kremlin who may genuinely be prepared to deal on a few issues of great importance. The leadership cycles in both Washington and Moscow appear propitious.

As a career diplomat who has been directly or indirectly involved in

nearly every superpower summit since 1959, I believe meetings between the Soviet Union and the United States should occur often. The leaders on both sides need to know one another and understand one another's environments, thereby reducing the dangers of accidental war while moving the broader agenda of arms control forward. Mr. Reagan risks nothing by meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. Such meetings should be routine not awesome and spectacular.

The Soviet Union is a dangerous and difficult adversary. As George Kennan has suggested, the first responsibility of American specialists on Russia is to persuade each new American President how untrustworthy and devious the Soviet leadership can be. Once that task is accomplished, these same specialists must persuade their President that it is vital to world peace and to American interests to reach balanced agreements with Moscow. Mr. Reagan seems to have been so persuaded. He deserves our encouragement.



## The Elements Of a Deal

By Albert Gore Jr.

WASHINGTON — Even as Ronald Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev make their way to Reykjavik, the likely subject matter of their meeting is clear. Events of the past year — the longer-term developments that convinced both leaders to go to Iceland — bode well for progress in a number of substantive areas, particularly on intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The Administration may be prepared to take advantage of this opportunity, but it also ought to be encouraged to go an extra mile — to reach for a still broader deal and prepare the way for even more significant agreements in the future.

Albert Gore Jr., Democrat from Tennessee, is a member of the Senate Arms Control Observer Group.

In the past year, in spite of the tensions in the relationship, there has been slow but steady progress in arms control talks in Geneva. A new mood of seriousness has produced a stream of new proposals. Both sides have shifted from millenarian efforts to rid the world of every last nuclear weapon to a more pragmatic goal of perhaps a 30 percent cut. And both sides have made concessions to keep the negotiations alive.

There will, of course, be high risks at Reykjavik. It will be a contest between two skilled competitors, both of whom seem to enjoy summit theatrics and relish the opportunity to outmaneuver one another. Ironically, some observers fear that Mr. Reagan will be under more pressure than Mr. Gorbachev this time around. Some are even afraid that the President will make an improvident concession. But in fact, both men will be under considerable pressure to carry the match a step further, to a full summit meeting in the United States.

So what are the possible areas of agreement? The most promising issue is intermediate-range nuclear missiles. Already, in the past year,

the subject was de-linked from the issue of strategic defense; the Russians conceded that we are entitled to have some medium-range weapons in Europe; and they agreed to disregard the modernization of British and French nuclear forces.

But an agreement is still far from a sure bet. Twice before, our allies have rebuffed concepts for agreement that looked promising to the United States. Nor is this the only obstacle. The Russians would like a simple freeze on missile forces deployed in Asia; the United States would like reductions. The Russians want an agreement that would lapse in a short time, so that it would be easier to draw British and French forces into a subsequent round of talks; the United States wants an agreement that would last indefinitely. The Russians, though now prepared to accept the presence of American ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe (at symbolic levels), still want every last Pershing II removed; we insist that some must remain. Finally, the Russians have done nothing to satisfy our concerns about the crucial and very difficult subject of verification.

Even so, the Reykjavik meeting might soften these problems up and produce at least the outlines of an agreement on intermediate-range weapons — and that much progress might satisfy the minimal requirements for a true summit meeting. But such an outcome would hardly be cause for cheer, were it to arrive just as the second strategic arms limitation treaty was abandoned, removing all constraints on strategic forces.

If medium-range forces are to be the centerpiece of the next summit talks, then the Administration ought either to leave SALT II in place or, second best, negotiate some kind of mutual agreement on interim restraint. At the same time, the Russians must understand that no Administration can keep SALT II in place for long unless they satisfy our concerns about their compliance — particularly with provisions limiting the encoding of data from missile tests.

There is also a slim possibility — admittedly much slimmer — that the meeting in Iceland will lead to a breakthrough on strategic forces and defenses. Differences in the two sides' approaches to strategic reduc-

tions have narrowed somewhat in the past year. We have begun to define strategic forces in less divergent ways. We now talk of overall cuts that are roughly comparable in magnitude, and we both intend to scale forces down rather than cut them to radically low levels in a single round.

Discussions of strategic defense have also advanced somewhat, but this remains an area where the superpowers are fundamentally at cross-purposes. The President wants an agreement that does not significantly hinder research or delay deployment; while the Russians want to block research except in the laboratory and to delay deployment long enough to insure the demise of the very concept of strategic defense.

Still, a compromise is possible. It might allow larger scale experiments than the Kremlin wants while also barring deployments for longer than the White House wishes. And, in that case, both sides might begin to move rapidly toward agreement on cuts in offensive weapons.

The problem is that cuts by themselves may not make our land-based intercontinental missiles any less vul-

nerable to a Soviet first strike, and they may make that danger worse by fostering illusions that such missiles would be protected by a strategic defense. What we need, then, is an agreement on strategic forces that does not require external props like missile defenses. The only way to secure such an agreement would be for both sides to begin to replace their large and vulnerable silo-based, multiple-warhead missiles with small, mobile, single-warhead missiles like the American Midgetman and the Soviet SS-25. The Administration remains ambivalent about such a shift, but it would be essential if we are to reach a safe and meaningful agreement on strategic cuts.

Finally, there is the question of a comprehensive test ban. Mr. Gorbachev has invested much political capital in a 14-month moratorium on tests. In return for better verification, we should seek speedy ratification of the threshold test ban treaty and cut back on the number and scale of our tests.

These, then, are the extra miles we ought to go to make the most of the meeting in Iceland. The risks are great, but so are the opportunities.

## The Making Of a Dissident

Yuri Orlov, Soviet physicist and human rights activist, is being released as part of the deal that paved the way for the summit meeting. What follows are his own words, from letters, courtroom testimony and an autobiographical note written in 1974.

At the very start of the war, a friend of my uncle's told me: "I hope this wartime alliance with the democratic countries will bring democracy to our country after the war." I was very surprised to hear this because I knew from our newspapers and books, and from my teachers, that our country was the most democratic in the world, the only true democracy.

After the war, I took part in discussions with a small group of officers

who were very critical of the regime. I was looking for reforms that would restore the original ideas of Marxism as I understood them, and I studied the Marxist classics, trying to find the "correct ideology." I filed two thick notebooks with seditious notes on the books of Engels and others. Some time later, I was called before the military division of K.G.B. and I burned both notebooks.

But it turned out that they wanted me to become a secret agent. When I realized what they were asking, I completely rejected their proposal. For two days, they tried to persuade me. Again, I found myself very much surprised. It may sound strange, but I did not know, could not imagine and nobody had told me about the real extent and nature of the repression in our country. I could not imagine myself asking about such things, probably because I was afraid. It was dangerous even to ask.

In April 1956, I criticized party policies at a public meeting. I said we had lost our honesty and morality and spoke about the need for democratic reforms. The meeting enthusiastically supported me with statements and speeches.

Within a few days, Pravda published a major, slanderous attack against those who had spoken. I was immediately fired from my job and expelled from the party on orders from "on high." My name was stricken from all scientific reports because it "disgraced Soviet science."

I did not work for half a year. No one in Moscow would give me a scientific or pedagogical position. One official contemptuously told me I should work at a factory for "reeducation."

In 1978, Orlov was tried for his activities as chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Group and sentenced to seven years of labor followed by five years in internal exile. He told the judge:

You may sentence me to seven years in prison, or to five years. You may execute me, but I am certain that trials such as this one will not

help end the troubles to which Helsinki Group documents attest and which I have tried to describe here.

In the following years, he continued to write to his wife, from prison, labor camp and internal exile:

July 27, 1978

Write to me. The sentence is now in force. I feel okay. On walks, I try to move as vigorously as possible and breathe deeply. In the prison cell, I stand on my head. It would be nice if someone brought me Landau's "Statistical Physics." It's on the bookshelf. Also, I could use a stack of paper. I've used up what I had.

August 4, 1978

I was afraid other prisoners would distrust me as an intellectual. But they asked me the same questions they asked each other: Where are you going? What's your sentence? Do you know so and so? In all, they treated me well. Altogether, my mood was St. Stephen-like.

October 22, 1979

New Years is coming. One more New Year with decorated trees, with children, but without me. And now all I've got left is just four years [in the camps] to go. That's all. You wouldn't believe how fast this jail term flies.

March 8, 1984

Here I am in internal exile! It's not cold here anymore, about minus 20 to minus 25 centigrade. At the moment, I live in the dormitory with shared bunks. It may be possible to rent a place, but I still don't look presentable enough, and the money hasn't come yet. The food situation isn't bad. I've been put on a ration. I managed to buy some eggs. The stores and other public places are well-appointed inside, just like in a city.

You won't recognize me. Will my eyes ever light up again? The trip here was hard for me. I got sick. A kind doctor put me in a cell for sick prisoners, but I took a lot of medicines, and something happened. I am walking around as if I had been poi-

soned. I'm nauseous and dizzy — it's almost like seasickness — and the devil knows what sad thoughts come to my mind. But the sun is bright and there's no barbed wire!

In the end of July, we'll have mushrooms, currants, blueberries, mountain cranberries. It would be nice to pick some mushrooms, if they let me. And to go fishing. The carp here are famous. I've been told it gets muddy, but that's what boots are for. The summer here is short, but it's hot, up to 40 degrees centigrade.

Well, everything will work out given time, if only my head stops spinning. Send me some underwear, my suit, the sweater, the hat, maybe an overcoat and boots. It will warm up soon. I need a good textbook on group theory, a modern one. I haven't decided what else I need. Have you told our friends where I am?

These autobiographical fragments first appeared in English in The New Leader in 1977. The letters were recently translated by Paul Goldberg.



# Arts & Leisure

## David Byrne Turns His Head To The Movies

By MICHIO KAKUTANI

In the opening scenes of David Byrne's new movie, "True Stories," shots of a flat Texas landscape give way to images of a town named Virgil: the images of small-town shops, industrial plants, and prefab houses, to cameos of some of Virgil's leading citizens: a genial plant worker named Louis Fyne, who's taken out television advertisements in his search for the perfect wife; Kay and Earl Culver, a happily married couple who haven't spoken to one another in decades; Miss Rollins, the Laziest Woman in the World, who hasn't left her bed in years, as well as neighbors introduced simply as the Cute Woman, the Computer Guy and the Preacher.

Inspired by people in tabloid newspaper stories, these characters may initially strike us as unlikely eccentrics, trapped in banal, suburban lives, but as reimagined by the direc-

tor and his collaborators, they gradually emerge as "people like us" — people whose sympathetic depiction attests to a new feeling of acceptance, even a sense of belonging, on Mr. Byrne's own part. "I guess I've gotten to like people more," he says, quietly. "I don't feel so separate anymore. I think I used to feel other people's lives and mine were so different that we could do our business, but not have that much more to say. Now I sort of feel I can go up to people in small towns and not feel I'm a total foreigner. I feel confident we have the same likes and dislikes, the same concerns."

While he's probably best known as the lead singer, songwriter and guitarist of the rock group Talking Heads, Mr. Byrne has long evinced an interest in other art forms — in addition to designing award-winning videos, he's collaborated on stage pieces with Robert Wilson and Twyla Tharp — and in "True Stories," opening Friday at the Sutton, he's brought

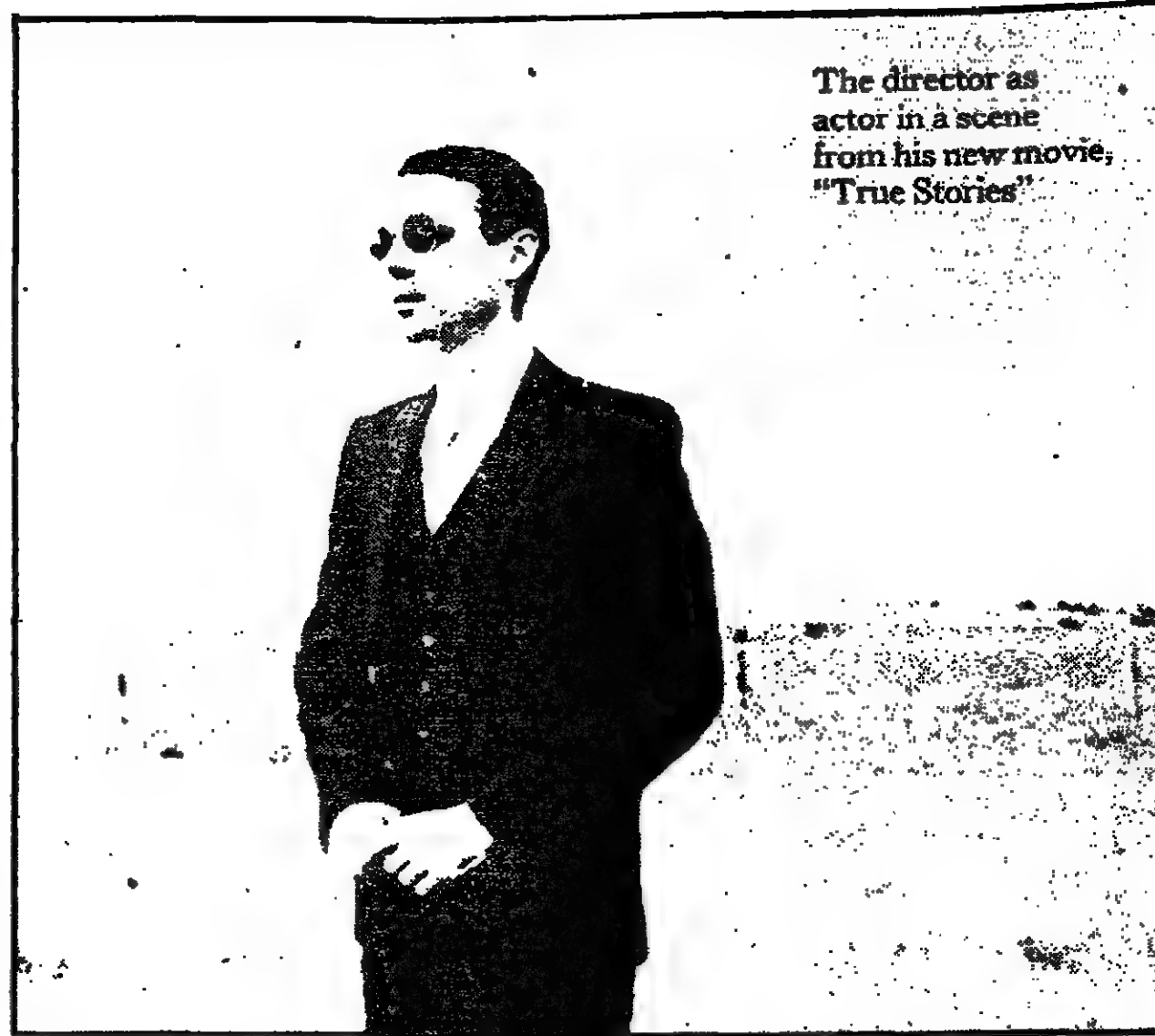
those disparate talents together to create a portrait of a town through music, images and words. The result is a fictional world that's at once idiosyncratic and familiar, ordinary and surreal — a world as immediately resonant as Sherwood Anderson's

Winesburg, Ohio, or Edgar Lee Masters's Spoon River.

It's a brand new town, this Virgil — one of those seemingly interchangeable towns that have sprouted in the suburbs of the New West, full of fast-food joints and housing developments. The people there spend their days working on the local assembly line or hanging out at the mall; their evenings, watching television or going to nearby clubs. Their kids daydream to the sound of rock-and-roll; and they, too, like to fantasize about their lives, reinventing themselves in the images of people glimpsed in the movies and TV — Rambo and Prince, Burt Reynolds and Elvis.

Still, few of the clichés about middle America and the alienation of contemporary society seem to hold here. Unlike Sam Shepard's West or Joan Didion's West, Mr. Byrne's West is not a deracinated frontier, co-opted by materialism and brave new values. Rather, it remains a place of possibilities, a land of alternatives and freedom, where both individuality and a sense of community can thrive.

The director as actor in a scene from his new movie, "True Stories."



a virtue, but I don't have the time"). And "The Big Country" (1978) addressed many of the same issues as "True Stories," but from the point of view of a cynical observer.

In "True Stories," Mr. Byrne again casts himself in the role of observer — he plays The Narrator, a nerdy visitor from the East, wearing a Sears Roebuck cowboy suit, m "the naive belief that everybody in Texas wears cowboy clothes." And yet, there's nothing condescending or judgmental about this outsider: as he drives about town in a bright red convertible, introducing us to various characters, he seems an earnest fellow, the sort of good-natured chap Jimmy Stewart might have played for Frank Capra.

"Sometimes it's just a question of suspending judgment," says Mr. Byrne. "It's a way of finding a way out of a contemporary bind where you seem to get into a rut of putting things down and being nostalgic for the good old days and in general complaining about the emptiness of modern life. I wasn't so much proposing a solution or an answer in this movie, as making some kind of attempt to be more open."

In a sense, that same willingness to embrace new points of view also informs the gradual evolution of the Talking Heads' music. When Mr. Byrne, along with Chris Frantz (on drums), Tina Weymouth (on bass) and Jerry Harrison (on guitar and keyboards), first began playing together a decade ago, the band had a decidedly minimalist aesthetic. Many of the songs, Mr. Byrne now recalls, were really "more like sketches for songs — just the barest framework; we didn't allow ourselves dramatic tricks or the musical equivalent of that, like building to a dramatic climax or using sensuous rhythms." And the band's performance style was similarly ascetic: there were no lighting effects, no rock-and-roll pyrotechnics, no attempts whatsoever to give the audience the sense of a "show."

"When we started the band, we pretty much stripped everything down to basics," says Mr. Byrne. "We were skeptical of even accepting little things like the idea that what you might wear onstage is different from what you wear offstage. When you're young, you do stuff as a reaction to everything else. Even if you don't know exactly what you are, at least you think you know everything you're not."

"In retrospect, I think that was good — if you start off trying to use all these different elements without understanding how they work in your own work, it can become too much to handle. Later, maybe you can accept things — not because they've just been handed down to you, but because they've become part of your own history."

## The French Accent Helps N.Y. Festival Earn Success

By VINCENT CANBY

Lincoln Center's Alice Tully Hall, the principal site of the annual New York Film Festival, seems an especially neutral space at 10:30 in the morning when the day's first press screenings begin. Machines have recycled and chilled the air from the night before. The lobby could be that of a giant funeral parlor, or of a movie theater in some efficiently regimented Orwellian society — there's no popcorn on the floor.

Clean and utterly functional, too, is the auditorium where, day after day, journalists return and, with the fidelity of pigeons, sit in the same seats they've occupied since the start of the festival. Before the lights go down, they stare ahead at a rectangle of white, a tabula rasa that receives all images but retains none. Like the screen, a film festival has no character of its own. It's an apparatus. It's only as memorable as the films it presents.

This year's New York Film Festival (the 24th) was unusually satisfactory, though it had only a few genuine surprises and not all of these positive ones. The decision to wind up the festival with Francis Coppola's "Peggy Sue Got Married" remains a puzzle. If "Peggy Sue Got Married" deserves to be in the festival, it's for the grimmest of reasons: to publicize the kind of pretty, painless movie one of America's foremost directors must make today in order to survive in a medium that's rapidly softening to death.

Far more significant has been the attention this festival has given to the French cinema. The festival has a long history of being partial to French film makers. However, from the commercial releases we've seen here recently (with the exception of Eric Rohmer's "Summer"), the French cinema has appeared to be in no better shape than ours. With six films on show, French film makers have dominated this festival in a way they haven't done in years.

None of this year's French selections (among those I've seen) are comparable to anything by the youthful, pace-setting Jean-Luc Godard. However, several are of high order and one, Bertrand Blier's "Menage," is one of the two best, most arresting films to be seen at the current Lincoln Center show — the other being Jim Jarmusch's "Down by Law," which opened the festival. In its way, "Menage" is as much of a revelation to me this year as Mr. Jarmusch's "Stranger Than Paradise" was last year.

Mr. Blier himself is not unknown. Yet, as someone who failed to respond to his "Going Places" (1973) and "Get Out Your Handkerchiefs," which was shown at the 1978 New York festival and went on to win an Oscar as best foreign language film, I wasn't exactly prepared for the demented delights of "Menage." Here is the kind of original, unsettling, crazy funny film that makes an entire festival worthwhile.

Consider the story (and be warned if you're in the mood for something genteel): Bob (Gérard Depardieu), a slobbish ex-con with a gift for breaking and entering, falls hopelessly in love with Antoine (Michel Blanc), a slight, ineffectual, balding man with protruding eyes and a pretty, avaricious wife, Monique (Mou-Miou), whom he slavishly adores.

Bob comes across the seedy couple one night in a cafe, as Monique is screaming at Antoine, which is her usual way with him. She says she's tired of him in general and, in particular, tired of living in a trailer. Among other things, she thinks his high time she had a bathtub and a change of underwear. For Bob, gazing rapturously at the small Antoine, who looks like an elderly calf, it's love at first sight. To protect the outwitted husband, Bob hauls off and swears Monique halfway across the cafe, then apologizes by stuffing a fistful of francs into her hands. Money talks and Monique thinks Bob is terrific.

In order to pursue his seduction of the heterosexual Antoine, one of the most unlikely (and likable) sex objects ever to be seen in a film, Bob invites the couple to join him that night in a remarkably successful series of suburban robberies. Bob's such a pro that he can bust into a strange house and immediately announce, "Tax dodgers."

When they're robbing a stately, marble-floored mansion, he instructs them to remove their shoes. It has nothing to do with trying to be quiet — Bob's the sort of self-assured burglar who turns on all the lights and the radio when he enters a house. Rather, he says, "It's a matter of harmony. You don't behave on marble the way you do on broadloom."

One thing leads to another and, within a day or so, Monique, who enjoys the good life, suggests that Antoine is just being selfish by not giving in to Bob's passion. Before the end of the film, all three have managed to modify their sexual identities.

Unlike "Going Places" and "Get Out Your Handkerchiefs," in which the mixture of comedy and melodrama has an arbitrarily mean, misogynistic edge, "Menage" is a farce of breathtaking energy and disorienting reason.

It's also intentionally and hilariously gross — even the English subtitles seem too much at times. It's not a movie that, like "La Cage aux Folles," could easily be turned into a musical for the Broadway matinee trade. "Menage" is not supporting the very bourgeois conventions it pretends to be ridiculing. It's about a dangerous world in which nothing, including sexuality, is safely fixed, and about three characters of infinite adaptability.

Miou-Miou and Mr. Blanc are splendid. Mr. Depardieu, who may be the least self-conscious actor in the world today, barrels through the film triumphantly, like a bull standing on his hind legs on roller skates, never once making a wrong move.

Bertrand Tavernier's "Round Midnight," a paean to the golden age of bebop, was actually written by the director and David Rayfiel, though it has the improvised manner and mood of the smoky music it celebrates. Providing the film's "line" is the haunted performance by Dexter Gordon, himself a great American saxophonist, as a man for whom music is life and everything else a long, hazy interval.

A third French film, Alain Cavalier's "Therese," is an unconventional treatment of a more conventional kind of sainthood, that of Therese Martin, the Carmelite nun who died in 1897, zealously anticipating her meeting with Jesus, her spiritual bridegroom. "Therese" may be the festival's most stunning looking film.

As if to demonstrate his range, Mr. Depardieu, by coincidence, also stars in another of the festival's French entries, Maurice Pialat's comparatively straightforward policier titled, appropriately, "Police." The film is not the sort that shows up best in the context of a festival.

The story, about the lonely life of a tough police detective, isn't completely original. Yet "Police" is so solidly crafted, and so deceptively well acted, by, among others, Mr. Depardieu, that it transcends its genre. It's the kind of movie one tends to overlook when it's in a theater, and then to discover when it shows up on cable television, where it's often easier to see the class within what appears — in a theater — to be the conventions.

Much more obviously "a festival film" is Denys Arcand's French-Canadian comedy, "The Decline of the American Empire," about one very long Saturday in the lives of a small group of academics — history professors, their wives, lovers and mistresses. The film is the funniest, most successful film of its kind I've seen since Alain Tanner's "Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000." Eight friends, all too articulate for their own peace of mind, talk about sex, history and the nature of women and men during a day that begins in great good humor and winds up in hurt feelings and social chaos.

Mr. Arcand has done something very rare. He's made a movie in which intelligent characters define themselves entirely in talk. That doesn't necessarily mean that they aren't fooling themselves as much as the people around them. One of the professors — a sharp-witted woman (beautifully played by Dominique Michel) — suggests that when people become more interested in their own happiness than in the needs of society, civilization is doomed. The movie goes on to prove the professor's point.

One of the ways in which a festival works is in the sheer quantity of so many dissimilar films seen in such short order. This abundance can be fatal to films that don't quite achieve what they set out to do — your patience wears thin. Good films, however, are invigorating.

This is the effect of "Marlene," Maximilian Schell's feature-length record of his attempts to make a documentary about the life and career of Marlene Dietrich in 1982. Miss Dietrich, who now lives in Paris as a virtual recluse, had agreed to cooperate in an audio interview for the film but, from the start, had stipulated that she wouldn't allow herself to be photographed. She was then 81. Though she doesn't say so, she could see no reason why the reality of age should blur the glamorous, slightly mocking legend she continues to be in our memories.

Because of the star's steadfast stubbornness, "Marlene" comes to exemplify the way her extraordinary career was orchestrated, initially by Josef von Sternberg and then by Miss Dietrich herself. On the screen we see clips from her films (the early German ones as well as the Hollywood productions) and from the concert appearances that capped her career.

Behind the clips, off screen, we hear the private Dietrich's voice, still distinctively husky but now thick with time. She argues with Mr. Schell about the foolishness of the project, answers questions she thinks are stupid by saying, "Read my book," tells outright lies about verifiable facts and, finally, in an unguarded moment, is moved to tears by a few lines of what she admits to be "kitsch" poetry.

Living with a legend isn't easy. "Marlene" reveals how one singularly tough-minded, intelligent woman continues to tend the chilly flame.

This year's festival has also had its share of turkeys, which needn't be inventoried here. The important thing is that the apparatus still functions.

## Literary Anatomy

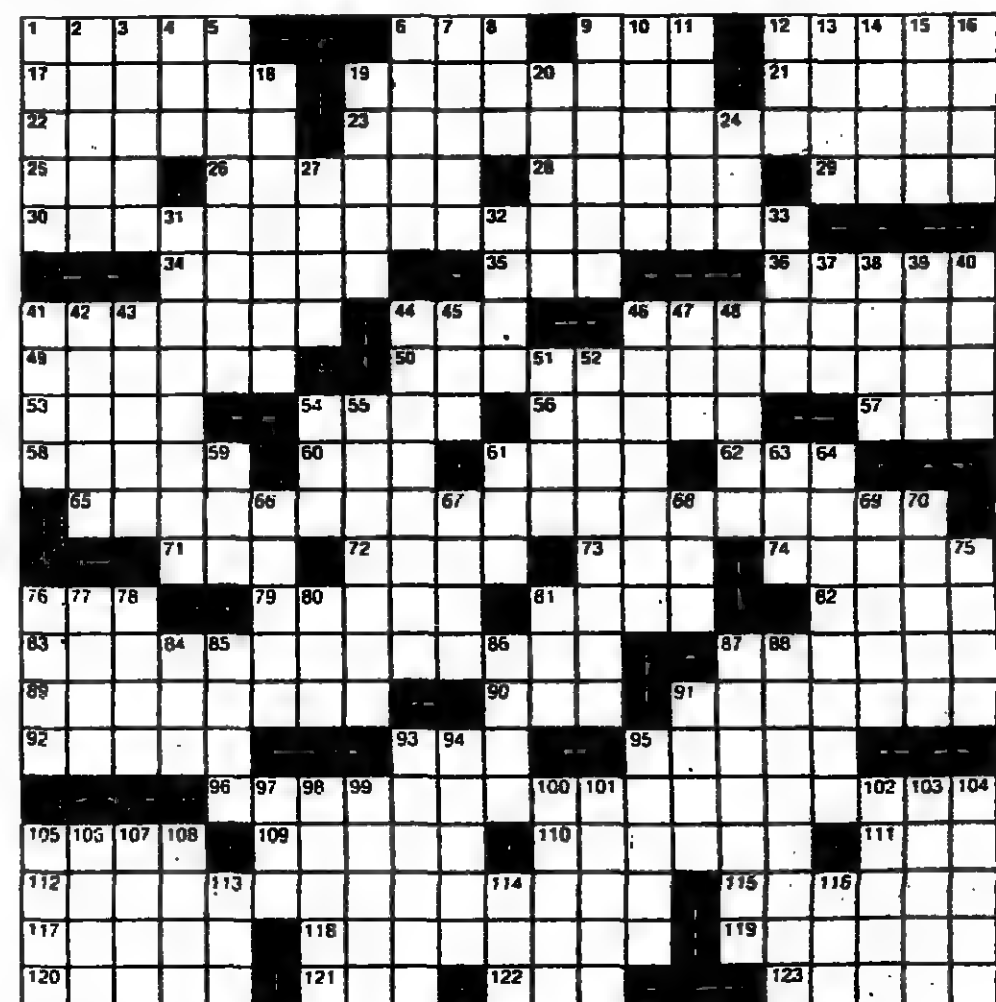
BY JOY L. WOUK/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

### ACROSS

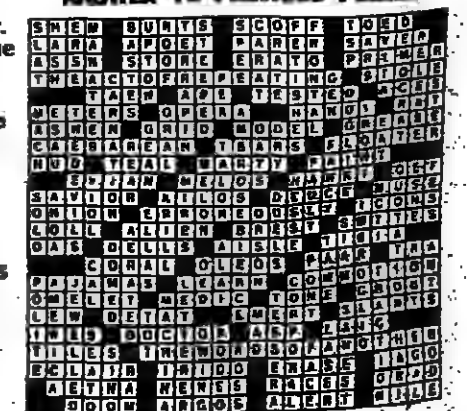
- 1 Do a tailoring job
- 6 Cpl.'s boss
- 9 Robsart or Carter
- 12 A Belmont bet
- 17 Patronage solicitor
- 19 Professor's milieu
- 21 Helicopter part
- 22 Golf-ball cover gum
- 23 Hemingway opus, with "A"
- 25 Expanse east of N.A.
- 26 Collect condensed gas on a surface
- 28 An Oakley
- 29 Japanese assembly
- 30 Wilder opus
- 34 Permitted
- 35 Some coll. linemen
- 36 Swiss poet-philosopher: 1821-81
- 41 Presidential selections
- 44 Haggard opus
- 46 Rudimentary stem of a seedling
- 49 Antler parts
- 50 Butler opus, with "The"
- 53 A bad way to run
- 54 Lower Rhine branch
- 56 Spree
- 57 — Freischütz, von Weber opera
- 58 Become prevalent
- 60 Fovea
- 61 Kind of capital
- 62 My, in Metz
- 65 Greene opus
- 71 — Tin Tin
- 72 Encircle
- 73 Eur. republic
- 74 Biblical spy
- 76 What epigones do
- 79 Town near Sevilla
- 81 Lapel clutcher
- 82 Taboo word
- 83 Jean Webster book
- 87 Sport of a sort
- 89 Winter vehicles
- 90 H.S. subject
- 91 Pitched woo
- 92 "Tanglewood"
- 93 Bk. parts
- 95 On the — (not in use)
- 96 Hawthorne story

### DOWN

- 1 In the box, at Shea
- 2 Unwilling
- 3 Veil fabric
- 4 Greek letter
- 5 Capturing agam
- 6 Boa
- 7 "Anna Christie" star
- 8 An insecticide, for short
- 9 Catkins
- 10 Pooh's creator
- 11 "Whiffenpoof" singer
- 12 Con's opponent
- 13 Cargo
- 14 Longfellow town
- 15 Arrive
- 16 Once, once
- 18 Rudimentary roots
- 19 In progress
- 20 William Gladstone
- 24 Asian holiday
- 27 Fit of pique
- 31 More furtive
- 32 Chemistry Nobelist: 1934
- 33 Equal share for two
- 37 Wire measure
- 38 Froze
- 39 Different
- 40 Glass oven
- 41 I.R.S. experts
- 42 Medieval helmet
- 43 Fair structure
- 44 Antimosquito activity
- 45 Film computer agam
- 46 Diseased parts of wood
- 47 H.S. subject



### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE





# Sharansky wows UK Jewry

By MARTIN GILBERT

LONDON.—It was on the afternoon of Sunday, September 21, that Natan Sharansky (as he wishes his name to be spelled) arrived in London from Israel. When he left, shortly after midday on the following Sunday, he had given to the cause of Soviet Jewry in Britain an energy and a determination which were surely unique, and certainly badly needed.

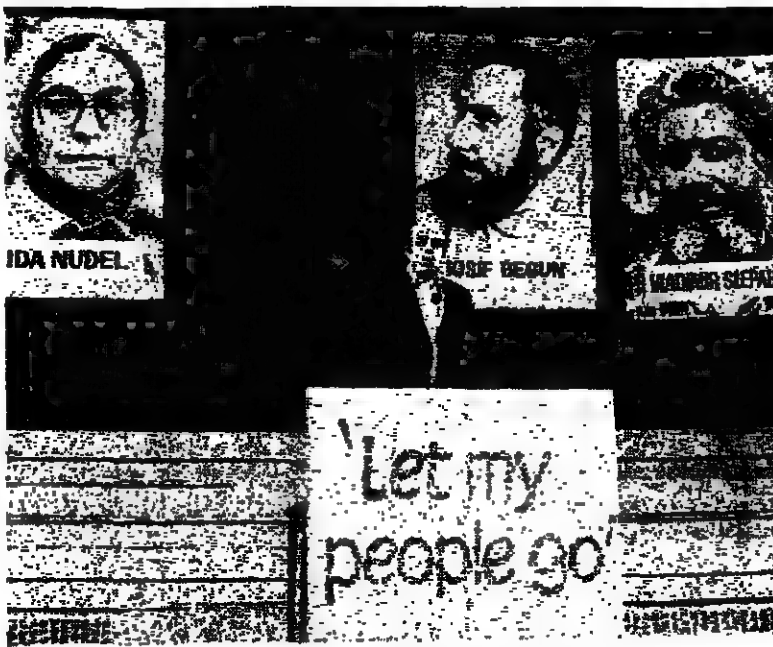
During that single week, Sharansky held more than 50 meetings. I myself was present at 20 of them. Each day, from just after dawn till well after midnight, he hardly ever paused in his efforts to alert both British Jews, and the wider non-Jewish public, to the plight of the refuseniks.

Sharansky's meetings with the Jewish community began at the Albert Hall on that first Sunday night. Five thousand people gathered there to hear him (and several thousand more were unable to get tickets). No seat was empty.

When Sharansky entered the hall, he received a standing ovation. There was a second standing ovation when he rose to speak, and a third when he sat down.

In a speech reported prominently on British television and in the national press, Sharansky began by thanking British Jewry for supporting his own struggle, his wife Avital, and all Soviet Jews. In words which brought tears to many in that vast audience, he then spoke of "my concern about my brothers whom I left in the Soviet Union, my concern about their fate." And he asked his listeners, while always seeking the "practical" lines of struggle, never to lose contact with idealism. "Without idealism," he declared, "we cannot continue our struggle."

By way of illustration, Sharansky spoke of how President Mitterrand had admitted to him that when Avital had gone to see him to urge her husband's release, he, Mitterrand, thought to himself: "How can she be so naive. The Soviets will never do it." Then, three weeks ago, Mitter-



rand admitted to Sharansky: "But she was right, and I was wrong."

Particularly moving was the moment when Sharansky described the KGB's taunt to him, after showing him the British television film of Avital leading a protest outside the Soviet Embassy in London, that these protesters were only "students and housewives. They had proved in the end more powerful than the KGB."

From that night on, as he travelled without respite from one meeting to another, Sharansky urged every Jewish group to whom he spoke to go out into the wider world of non-Jewish group life to enlist support for the refusenik cause.

Public pressure was essential. For him in prison, "the worst time was when there was no public pressure." But public pressure had to have an object. That object was to bring western governments to use whatever power they had, to demand a re-opening of the gates of Jewish emigration.

At a joint meeting with the Union of Jewish Students and the Student Academic Campaign for Soviet Jew-

ry, Sharansky stressed the importance of the issue of Soviet Jewry forming a part of student activity beyond its Jewish aspects and groupings. It was especially important, he felt, for Jewish students to alert non-Jewish students to the Vienna meetings on the Helsinki process next month. There must be united student pressure at Vienna, to spotlight the Soviet Union's continued violations of the Helsinki accords.

Sharansky was prepared to bring himself to the brink of exhaustion in order to do something no one has done before: To speak to almost every Jewish organization. The six addresses which I heard (to the Joint Israel Appeal, the National Council for Soviet Jewry, the Scientists for the Release of Soviet Refuseniks, the Institute of Jewish Affairs and, twice, the Board of Deputies of British Jews) were each perfectly tailored to their audience. He also spoke to the Guild of Jewish Journalists, the rabbis of the United Synagogue, and the voluntary workers of the 35s Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry.

To each group, Sharansky reiterated the importance of making the

fate of Soviet Jews an integral and conditional part of all East-West negotiations at every level. The "linkage" without which the Jews of Russia would never be able to escape the trap.

Speaking almost always for a minimum of half an hour, sometimes for 45 minutes, each address was followed by as much as half an hour of questions. His answers were witty, informative, firm, and in every case, a call to action.

Like Churchill's efforts to warn of the Nazi danger in the pre-war years, Sharansky's efforts were conveyed with an intensity which touched each listener with a feeling that it was no longer enough just to listen.

In his final remarks to the Board of Deputies of British Jews, when he was literally on his way to the airport (for more campaigning in Holland), Sharansky told several hundred Jewish community representatives how, at one of the most intellectual of the Jewish gatherings he had spoken at (he had the courage to give its name), "I could hear these questions which show that many Jews of England don't understand the real scale of the problem."

Patiently, Sharansky reiterated the figures which he had been stressing all week: "Thousands of separated families, 400,000 Jews who have already made the decision to leave, two million people who can become the victims of forced assimilation." Sharansky then told his listeners: "Your campaign has lasted 20 years. Now, we don't have so many years."

Did Sharansky think that his efforts, and the efforts he urged upon all of us with such tenacity of purpose, would be effective? His answer was a simple one: "It must be followed up." If the Jewish organizations do undertake this follow-up, and if they pursue it with anything like the zeal which Sharansky displayed throughout his week of endeavour, then his visit will surely have been a triumph of personal advocacy in what as he himself made clear, is a universal cause. (This is the first of two articles.)

denied visitation rights until May 1987.

SEPTEMBER 29

Former prisoner of Zion Alexander Paritsky, of Kharkov, whose health was seriously damaged in labour camp, is receiving medical attention in a Moscow hospital for heart problems. He was told by the Ovir immigration office that he, his wife Polina and their two daughters will have to wait an additional 15 years for an exit visa.

SEPTEMBER 30

After 12 years in refusal, Leonid Vainshtein, 38, a mechanical engineer in Moldova, left Kishinev today to be reunited in Israel with his family.

Wives of prisoners of Zion and refusenik families from various cities sent Rosh Hashana greetings to the president and people of Israel. They expressed the hope that lasting peace will come to Israel, and that they will be allowed to return to their ancestral homeland.

In another letter on the new year, Ida Nudel, in her 15th year in refusal, thanked friends around the world who have expressed concern and sympathy for Soviet Jews. "I firmly believe that the efforts of many people of good will directed towards the resolution of humanitarian problems will bear fruit."

OCTOBER 1

Binyamin Bogozmony, 40, one of the longest term refuseniks — he's listed in the Guinness Book of World Records — received permission to immigrate to Israel with his wife, Tatiana. Bogozmony, who suffered many years of KGB harassment, will rejoin his parents, who arrived in Israel in 1970.

Jewish activist, Abram Markman, 26, of Minsk, his wife Talia and their two daughters also received permission to emigrate. His parents, Olga and Maelvi Markman, have been living in Israel since 1980.

## News calendar

term by applying the recently instituted Article 188/3. Under this article, a prisoner's term can be extended by up to three years for violation of camp discipline.

SEPTEMBER 25

In what was viewed as a courageous act during a period of increased repression, 66 aliyah activists, including the wives of prisoners of Zion and many former prisoners, wrote an appeal to Soviet authorities for the release of Yosef Begun, whose situation "has become alarming." They said he was being destroyed physically only because he openly defended his views and worked on behalf of the Jewish people.

SEPTEMBER 26

Senior refusenik, 38, a refusenik since 1981, was tried in an open court in Leningrad today, charged with refusing to testify at the March 1986 trial of refusenik Vladimir Lifshits, who was sentenced to three years for "slandering the Soviet

state," the court, after a 20-minute hearing, sentenced Borovinsky to five months of "corrective" work, during which time 15 per cent of his salary will be withheld by the state.

Lifshits, meanwhile, has been placed in a prison hospital in the remote Kamchatka region, his wife Anya learned today. He apparently is being given a complete medical check-up, after concern for his health was expressed abroad.

Ina Begun, wife of Yosef Begun, the longest serving prisoner of Zion, has been denied correspondence with her husband for seven months. But today, she got a letter — over 100 pages long.

In the book-length letter, Begun does not mention one word about himself or his health, but describes and analyzes books he has read. Begun's family and friends regard this lack of any personal information as worrisome. Ina was recently told by the authorities that she would be

### Addresses of some Israeli citizens in USSR

Begun, Ina,	Moscow, 129243 Raketai Bulvar 11, Korpus 1, Apt. 15.
Berenshtein, Fanya,	Kiev, 252147, Ulitsa Entuziastov 35, Apt. 140.
Brailovsky, Viktor,	Moscow, 117526, Prospekt Vernadskogo 99, Korpus 1, Apt. 128.
Levin (Nepomnitschy), Eda,	Odessa 39, Ulitsa Gagarina 16, Korpus 4, Apt. 5.
Torgoutskaia, Zhanna,	Odessa 39, Ulitsa Gagarina 16, Korpus 4, Apt. 5.
Nudel, Ida,	Moldavian SSR, Bendery, 278100, Ulitsa Sovetskaya 69/2.
Slepak, Vladimir,	Moscow, 121002, Ulitsa Vernadskogo 9/10, Apt. 51.
Volvovsky, Mila,	Gorky, 603081, Ulitsa Kriova 14-A, Apt. 115.
Yakir, Alexander,	Moscow, 117485, Ulitsa Profsoyuznaya 96, Korpus 5, Apt. 35.

From the Soviet Jewry Education and Information Centre.

## A birthday without joy

Last week (September 29) a Jew celebrated his 50th birthday. He did so, not with his wife in their small apartment, but in labour camp. His name is Roald Zelichenok. Last year he was given a three year sentence for so-called "anti-Soviet activity."

Alec (as he likes his friends to call him) had never sought to change or alter Soviet society, but only to leave the Soviet Union for Israel. He and his wife Galina were not dissidents determined to see a different Russia, but refuseniks dreaming that one day their exit visas would be granted.

While waiting for his refusal to be reversed, Alec taught Hebrew. Some of his pupils live today in Israel. Others, like him, are still forced to remain in the Soviet Union. Alec also absorbed himself in Jewish history, and had a lively view, too, of Israeli life and politics — in which he so wished (and still in remote Siberia wishes) to participate.

If I call Zelichenok by his nickname, it is because, although we have never met, he and I have been in personal correspondence. Indeed, among the so-called "proofs" of his anti-Sovietism was a letter which he wrote me two years ago. In this letter he spoke of his fears for the two million Russian Jews who had no means of learning about their Jewish heritage, whose Jewishness (as he expressed it) "gives them only trouble, converts them into third class citizens." These Jews, he warned me, and others to whom he wrote,



Roald and Marina Zelichenok

could disappear from Jewishness altogether in a decade. "Forcible assimilation" was what he called it: a Holocaust without bloodshed: the final destruction of the third largest mass of Jews in the modern world.

For expressing these fears, Alec Zelichenok was given a three-year sentence. His wife Galina, who entertained me in Leningrad two weeks after Alec had been sentenced, was able to visit him recently, for two days, in his labour camp. She found him unwell, and is fearful.

At the time of his arrest Roald Zelichenok suffered from high blood pressure and hypertension and needed a special salt-free diet. Since his imprisonment his condition deteriorated until he had to be transferred to a prison hospital in early 1986, to be treated for intestinal bleeding. After three weeks in hospital, and a

course of injections and tablets for his blood condition, his state of health improved enough for him to be sent back to labour camp.

IN THE LABOUR camp, Alec, though still far from well, must work with rigour. On September 2 he wrote to Galina: "Now it is five o'clock in the morning. I have filled with salt-solution one more filter and I can write, now that the washing is going on." Later in this same letter he writes: "It is already ten o'clock in the morning and I have slept a little. Now I am sleeping not eight hours in a row but every few hours, when the work permits it. I have to feed one more filter, and after this I together with another man will put the salt in the pit for salt-solution. Everyday it is necessary to put there 700 kilograms of the salt. Later I have to make an analysis of water, but now I

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**These are the two pages in The Sunday Times, purporting to reveal some of Israel's most closely guarded nuclear secrets. The report, by the London newspaper's Insight team, starts on page two (reproduced on the right) and continues on page three (reproduced below)**

For many years its existence was suspected: now a technician who worked

# Inside Dimona, Israel's

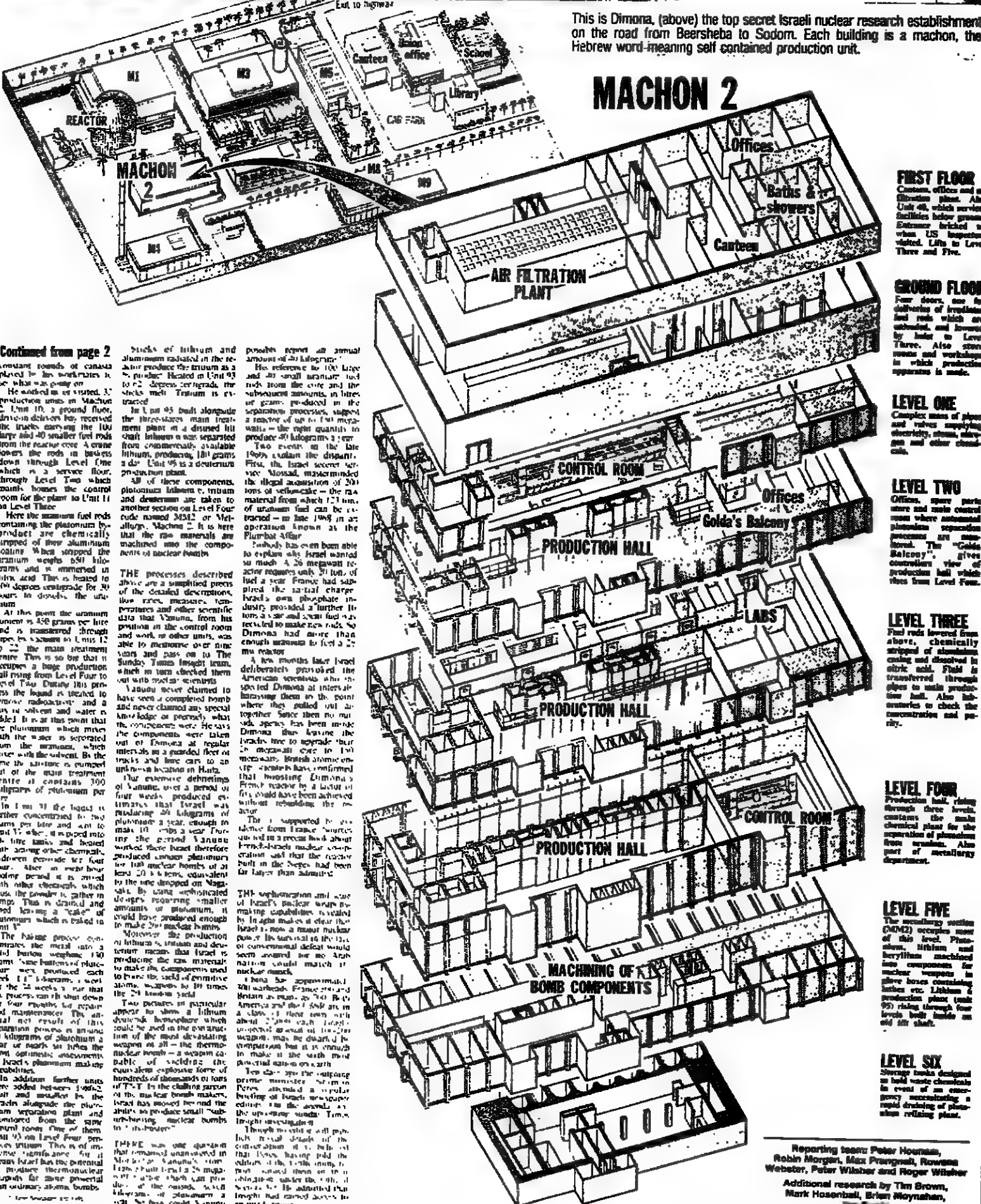
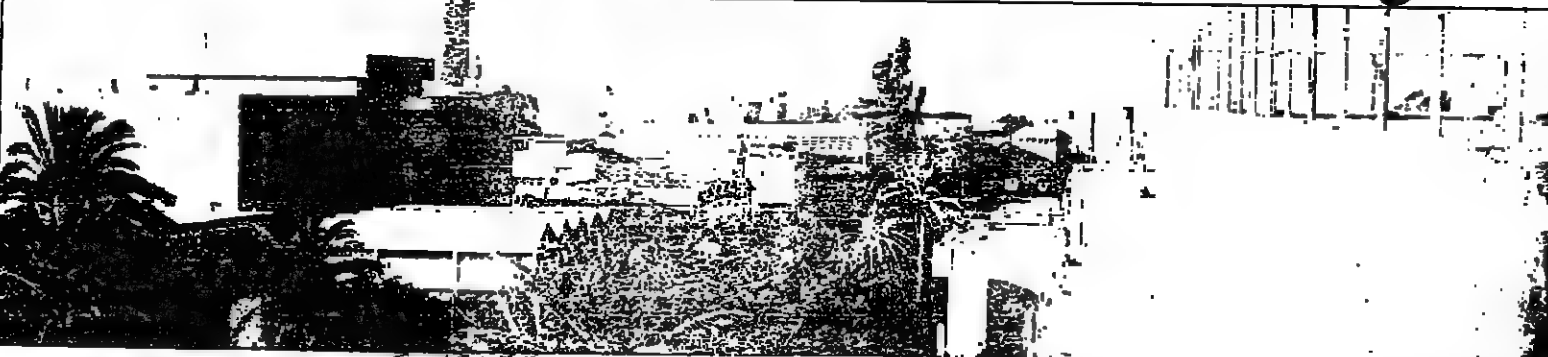
## INSIGHT

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**THE SUNDAY TIMES 5 OCTOBER 1986**

there tells the story of how his country has become a major nuclear power

# nuclear bomb fact



## How the experts were convinced

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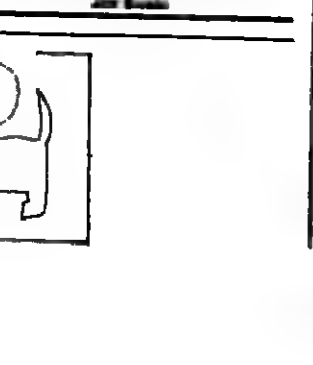
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SPORTS

# BASEBALL: New York, Houston, California and Boston set for playoffs

## Mets, Astros finish with a bang

NEW YORK (AP). — Neither team looked away, flinched or even blinked. The New York Mets and Houston Astros wanted to make sure any weaknesses, however slight, were well hidden heading into their playoff showdown.

Both New York and Houston won their last five games to set new club victory records heading into this week's seven-game playoff series, which opens Wednesday night in Houston.

On Sunday, five Houston pitchers combined on a four-hitter in a 4-1 triumph over the Atlanta Braves.

Darryl Strawberry hit a grand slam. Gary Carter added a three-run homer and Ron Darling and Sid Fernandez combined on a four-hitter in the Mets 9-0 rout of the Pirates.

**Phillies 2, Expos 1**  
Luis Aguayo scored on Dana Blando's passed ball in the bottom of the 10th inning, enabling Dan Schatzeder, 6-5, to get his second victory in as many days as Philadelphia edged the Expos.

**Padres 2, Reds 1**  
Andy Hawkins tossed a three-hitter over eight innings in Cincinnati for his first victory in six weeks.

**Giants 11, Dodgers 2**  
San Francisco's Candy Maldonado hit a grand slam and a two-run homer and Mike Krukow pitched a seven-hitter over 6½ innings to win 20 games for the first time in his Major League career.

**Chicago 8, St. Louis 1**  
Jody Davis and Brian Dayett hit home runs and Guy Hoffman combined with rookie Drew Hall on a seven-hitter for the Cubs.

**AMERICAN LEAGUE**  
The Boston Red Sox and California Angels say their mini-slumps are over. They're ready to start the American League playoffs.

The Red Sox dropped their final four games of the season at home to the New York Yankees, including a 7-0 loss on Sunday.

The Angels won only twice in nine games after clinching the AL West title. Yet manager Gene Mauch is not concerned. "It would be silly to be worried about it," Mauch said after Sunday's 7-4 loss in Texas. "What counts is Tuesday, it's a whole new season."

Game 1 of the playoffs will be on Tuesday night in Boston's Fenway Park.

**A's 6, Royals 0**  
Curt Young pitched 6½ perfect

### FINAL 1986 SEASON STANDINGS

**NATIONAL LEAGUE EAST**

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	70	54	.563	—
Philadelphia	66	58	.534	2½
St. Louis	59	65	.473	9
Atlanta	58	66	.466	10
Chicago	50	74	.403	18
Pittsburgh	44	80	.350	24

**WEST DIVISION**

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Houston	66	58	.534	—
Los Angeles	65	59	.523	1
San Francisco	59	65	.473	7
San Diego	58	66	.466	8
Los Angeles	52	72	.419	14
Arizona	42	82	.340	24

**BRUSHBACK.** — Brewer Rick Cerone falls over backwards on an inside pitch during a game against the Toronto Blue Jays that Milwaukee won 2-1.



BRUSHBACK. — Brewer Rick Cerone falls over backwards on an inside pitch during a game against the Toronto Blue Jays that Milwaukee won 2-1.

## The Moscow Mets?

MOSCOW (AP). — Baseball, favorite summer game of millions, is coming to the Russians.

The nation's official news agency, Tass, reported Thursday night that the state committee for sports and physical culture had taken a decision that baseball "is to be cultivated in the USSR along with softball and the old Russian game of Lapta."

Lapta is a game involving a bat, a ball and several bases, but is played on a much smaller field than baseball.

Tass said there are already several student baseball teams in Georgia

## BASKETBALL: Hapoel Holon sign 'Animal'

TEL AVIV. — Hapoel Holon, continuing in their efforts to upgrade their basketball, have made a last-minute change with one of their foreign contract players. The team announced that they have brought over former New York Knick Ken Bannister to play in place of Alex Bradley.

Bannister, otherwise known as the "Animal," played for the Knicks for the last two years, where he averaged eight points and 11 rebounds per game. With the return to good health of Bill Cartwright, Pat Ewing and Pat Cummings, Bannister became expendable.

## Injured ankles can't stop Martina

NEW ORLEANS (Reuter). — Martina Navratilova finished the match with two injured ankles but still managed to beat her longtime doubles partner Pam Shriver 6-1, 4-6, 6-2 to win the \$150,000 women's tournament here.

Navratilova began the match with her left ankle taped due to a sprain she suffered during her semifinals victory against fellow-American Zina Garrison. In the third set, the world's No. 1 fell over and sprained her good ankle.

But after a quick trip to the sidelines to get that ankle taped up, Navratilova returned determined to wrap things up quickly and did.

"The right one is okay but the left one is tender," Navratilova said after her triumph. "Tender, but fixable."

## TENNIS: ITC Classic Star-filled tournament gets under way today

By JACK LEON

**RAMAT HASHARON.** — Israel's Davis Cup tennis hero Shlomo Glickstein takes on Brazilian No. 4 Nelson Aerts this afternoon in first round singles competition at the 8th Riklis Israel Tennis Centre Classic here.

Fourth-seeded Christo Steyn, from South Africa, faces up to Brazilian No. 1 Julio Gies in his opening contest. Steyn is here with his compatriot and doubles partner Danie Visser, with whom he reached the semifinals at the ITC meet a year ago. Steyn and Visser have so far won two Grand Prix doubles titles (together in 1986, while Steyn gained a third crown with Britain's Colin Bowdell).

First on court this afternoon at Ramat Hasharon's Canada Stadium will be what promises to be an attractive match between Israeli Shahar Perkis and the big-serving Chip Hooper from the U.S. The American has won both his contests against Perkis to date, the first three years ago on the same court during the Hapoel Games.

Sixth-seeded Amos Mansdorf, runner-up to Gilbert last October, begins against a qualifier, while his Davis Cup teammate Gilad Bloom faces the formidable American Mark Dickson, the 7th seed. The fifth Israeli in the 32-draw is Amit Naor, who opens his account against Canadian No. 7 Andrew Szajdner.

Yesterday's qualifying round matches, on the demise of the last two home players, with two Werner beating Michael Daniel 6-4, 6-1, 6-1, and American Larry Scott edging Tuncer Zimnerman 5-7, 7-5, 6-4.

## Cash puts Aussies in Davis Cup final

BRISBANE (AP). — Pat Cash yesterday romped to a four set triumph over Brad Gilbert to give Australia a winning 3-1 lead over the United States in the Davis Cup semi-final. Cash rallied after losing the first set to down Gilbert 3-6, 6-2, 6-3, 6-4.

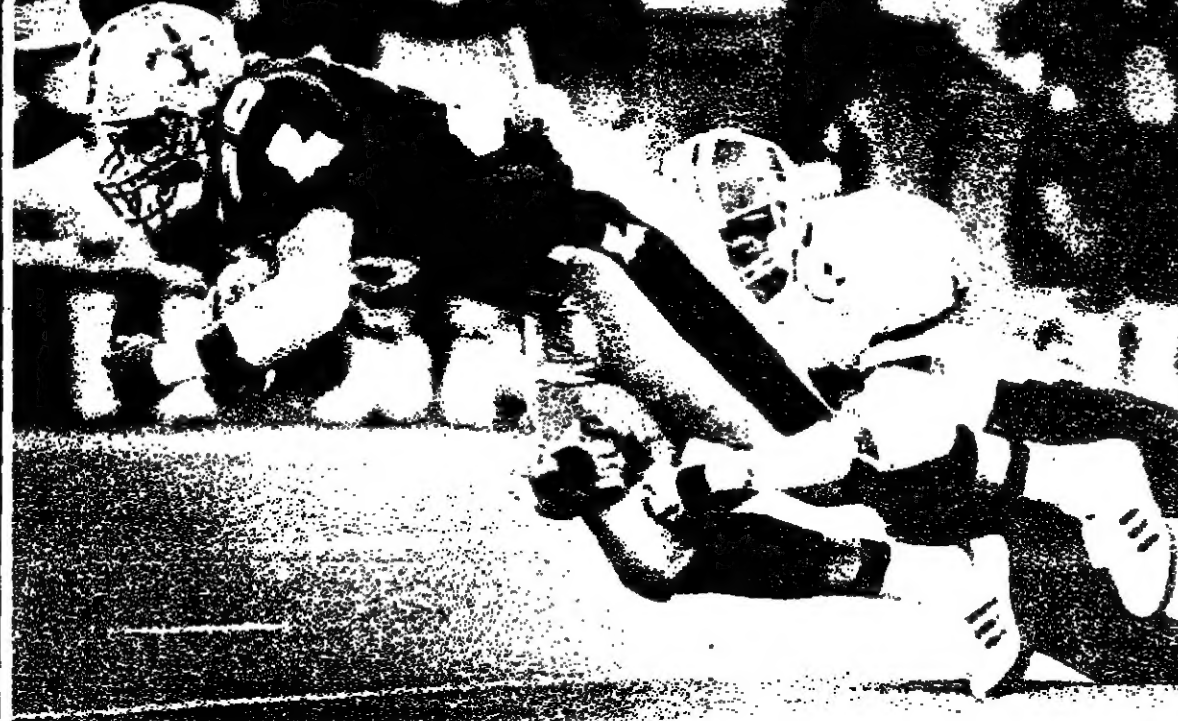
The 21-year-old, ranked just 80th in the world, was too powerful, too accurate and too mobile for 25-year-old Gilbert, the 12th ranked player in the world.

Australia now face defending champions Sweden in the final in Melbourne from December 19-21. Australia last won the Davis Cup in 1983 when they beat Sweden in the final also in Melbourne.

Cash's second singles triumph — he had beaten Tim Mayotte in the second singles — lifted Australia into their 41st Davis Cup final. This is bidding for a 26th victory.

The second reverse singles, between McNamee and Mayotte, was cancelled when a severe thunderstorm hit the court.

## Football



GOING NOWHERE. — Saints running back Rueben Mayes is hoisted down by Washington Redskins safety Ken Coffey after catching a pass for a first down in New Orleans. (Reuter telephoto)

## A Sunday gone sour for the Falcons

NEW YORK (AP). — Everything that was perfect turned imperfect for the Atlanta Falcons on Sunday. They took the National Football League's top-ranked offense and 4-0 record into their game against Philadelphia.

But the Eagles held Atlanta to 228 yards, 195 under their league-leading average, to hand the Falcons their first loss, 16-0.

Philadelphia's offense struggled early, but Junior Taulatlatasi and Ron Johnson turned short passes into long gains that set up a touchdown and field goal late in the first half. Ron Jaworski's eight-yard pass to Mike Givens accounted for the only touchdown of the game.

Paul McFadden kicked three field goals for the Eagles.

**Raiders 24, Chiefs 17**  
Jim Plunkett fired the go-ahead touchdown pass and Los Angeles, helped by a "communications breakdown" when the video replay official tried to disallow an earlier score, rallied to beat Kansas City. Dokie Williams' score was the first of three straight Los Angeles touchdowns as the Raiders erased a 17-0 deficit.

**Patriots 34, Dolphins 7**  
Tony Eason threw two touchdown passes and New England scored on five of their six first-half possessions as Miami fell to 1-4 for the first time since Don Shula became coach in 1970. Eason, who completed 12 of 16 passes, threw touchdown passes of two yards to Willie Scott and 38 yards to Irving Fryar before suffering a bruised and possibly fractured ribs in the final minute of the first half when he was sacked by Mack Moore.

**Bears 23, Vikings 0**  
Long Pass plays by Jim McMahon to Keith Orgero accounted for one touchdown and set up another as undefeated Chicago shut out Minnesota. McMahon's 58-yard scoring pass to Orgero early in the fourth quarter clinched the victory. The McMahon-Orgero combination also struck for a 49-yard pass in the second quarter to set up a two-yard touchdown run by Walter Payton, who rushed for 108 yards on 26 carries.

## 1986 SEASON'S LEADERS

**AMERICAN LEAGUE**  
BATTING (450 at bats) — Reggie, Boston, .357; Mattingly, New York, .352; Puckett, Minnesota, .328; Tabler, Cleveland, .326; Rice, Boston, .324.

**RUNS** — K. Henderson, New York, 136; Puckett, Minnesota, 119; Mattingly, New York, 117; Carter, Cleveland, 108; Barfield, Toronto, 107; Boggs, Boston, 107; Trammell, Detroit, 107.

**RBI** — Carter, Cleveland, 121; Condon, Oakland, 117; Mattingly, New York, 113; Rice, Boston, 110; Barfield, Toronto, 108; Trammell, Detroit, 108; Gaffney, Minnesota, 108.

**HITS** — Mattingly, New York, 238; Puckett, Minnesota, 223; Fernandez, Toronto, 213; Boggs, Boston, 207; Carter, Cleveland, 200; Rice, Boston, 200.

**DOUBLES** — Mattingly, New York, 53; Boggs, Boston, 47; Backus, Boston, 39; Rice, Boston, 39; Bell, Toronto, 38.

**TRIPLES** — Butler, Cleveland, 14; Fernandez, Toronto, 10; Sierra, Texas, 10; Carter, Cleveland, 9.

**HOME RUNS** — Barfield, Toronto, 40; Kingman, Oakland, 35; Gaffney, Minnesota, 34; Condon, Oakland, 33; Deer, Milwaukee, 33.

**STOLEN BASES** — R. Henderson, New York, 57; Campbell, Chicago, 50; Pettit, California, 49; Gibson, Detroit, 34; Wilson, Kansas City, 34.

**PITCHING (15 decisions)** — Clemens, Boston, 24-4, .877, 2.48; Rasmussen, New York, 18-6, .750, 3.88; King, Detroit, 11-4, .733, 3.51; Morris, Detroit, 21-8, .774, 3.27; Schiraldi, Toronto, 14-6, .700, 1.72.

**STRIKEOUTS** — Langelton, Seattle, 245; Clemens, Boston, 238; Morris, Detroit, 223; Blyleven, Minnesota, 215; M. Witt, California, 208.

**SAVES** — Ripstein, New York, 46; Ames, Baltimore, 34; Benka, Toronto, 27; Hernandez, Detroit, 24; D. Moore, California, 21.

## SOCCER

## Mihic to get a good look at Israel's merchandise

By PAUL KOHN

TEL AVIV. — Israel's new National team soccer coach Miljenko Mihic of Yugoslavia will get his first look at the National team players in training today and in a game tomorrow against Romania.

The National team are being prepared for the Ramat Gan game by coach Yosef Mirimovich who has been in charge of the squad for the past four years and who was brought by the F.A. from South Africa to advise Mihic in his early days here. Mirimovich has invited 18 players for training at Kibbutz Shefayim.

Motti Iwanir has been released by his club in Holland in order to play in the game against Romania.

Romania are currently considered a strong European team, having recently defeated Austria 3-1. Israel and Romania have drawn their last three international encounters.

The players selected to report for training at Shefayim include Daniel

## F.A. bench Shirazi

TEL AVIV. — Shlomo Shirazi, Betar Jerusalem's versatile right back, will be out of football for the next two months.

This was the punishment meted out to the key player by the Football Association disciplinary committee following his sending off by referee Zvi Shafir in the first league match of the season.

## GOLF: Champion Norman blasts British fans

WENTWORTH (AP). — Greg Norman won't forget his daughter's fourth birthday. It was the day he handed her the Suntory world matchplay golf trophy as a present after winning it for the third time.

It also was the day he vowed not to defend it because of the behaviour of the British fans.

The Australian said after his 2 and 1 final victory over hometown favourite Sandy Lyle, that the fans made noises or movements whenever he was about to play a shot and clapped whenever he missed a vital putt.

"I didn't feel like I won a golf tournament. I felt like I won a battle," the champion said.

Norman, who won the title when Lyle conceded on the 35th hole said that during the final round he told his British caddy, Jackie Lee: "I hope I win this one because it will be my last."

Before jetting home to Australia, he said: "I am going to draw the line and not come back to defend my title."

Ninety per cent of the people were bad, 10 per cent were good," he said. "It was by far the worst I've ever experienced. I've played British players plenty of times before and never known anything like this. I'm not calling the people hooligans, but a section of the crowd certainly got out of hand."

"This sport must get back to where it should be, with every spectator appreciating what the game is all about and giving both players a fair deal."

Lyle said it was inevitable that some fans would clap when Norman missed a putt, although he regretted it.

"That sort of thing has happened to me in America. You just have to ignore it," said Lyle.

## Clearly the world's most hazardous course

By TOM HENEHAN

**KABUL (Reuter).** — Kabul's scruffy golf course, stuck between an Afghan army base and a mountain resort crawling with Moslem rebels, must have more hazards than any other links in the world.

The parched fairways are pocked and rutted from guerrilla rockets, Soviet tanks and other trespassers who stray this way without the slightest idea of proper country club etiquette.

Concentrating on a birdsie putt can be murder when helicopter gunships, fighter jets and artillery shells whiz overhead on their way to strike rebel hideouts.

The word "bunker" takes on a new meaning when players scan the fairways for sand traps but spot only the fortified army posts on the surrounding hillsides, their artillery ready to fire away. It quickly dawns on even the most weekend duffer that his life, the duffered trout farms behind the first green or that dogleg on the sixth may be the least of his problems here.

Even the cheater's dream — a local rule allowing players to tee up the ball everywhere but on the oil-sand "greens" — fades as the sheep-

## AMERICAN CONFERENCE EAST

Team	W	L	T	Pct.	PF	PA
N.Y. Jets	4	1	0	.800	128	109
New England	3	2	0	.600	136	91
Buffalo	2	3	0	.400	104	106
Miami	1	4	0	.200	126	176
Indianapolis	0	5	0	.000	41	138

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE EAST

Team	W	L	T	Pct.	PF	PA
Washington	5	0	0	1.000	114	67
N.Y. Giants	3	2	0	.600	142	108
Dallas	3	2	0	.600	141	107
Philadelphia	3	2	0	.600	131	107
San Francisco	0	5	0	.000	61	110

## WEST

Team	W	L	T	Pct.	PF	PA
Denver	5	0	0	1.000	148	67
Seattle	3	1	0	.750	105	67
Kansas City	2	3	0	.400	126	91
L.A. Raiders	2	3	0	.400	92	92
San Diego	1	3	0	.250	97	95

## WEST

Team	W	L	T	Pct.	PF	PA
Atlanta	4	1	0	.800	124	94
L.A. Rams	4	1	0	.800	102	84
San Francisco	3	2	0	.600	126	70
New Orleans	1	4	0	.200	74	101

## SUNDAY'S GAMES: Cincinnati 34, Detroit 24; Cleveland 27, Pittsburgh 24; Green Bay 28, Houston 13; L.A. Raiders 24, Kansas City 17; New England 34, Miami 7; Chicago 23, Minnesota 16; N.Y. Giants 13, St. Louis 6; Philadelphia 14, Atlanta 0; Washington 14, New Orleans 6; L.A. Rams 26, Tampa Bay 20; St. Denver 29, Dallas 14; N.Y. Jets 14, Buffalo 13; San Francisco 35, Indianapolis 14.



## Consumer electronics firm moves into security

# Visonic makes easy switch

By AARON SITTNER

It's just past midnight in the darkened "alert room" of a police station somewhere in the U.S. Suddenly, six amber lights begin to flash and a deafening staccato buzzing comes over the five-watt loudspeakers.

As the duty officers jump out of their cots and grab their weapons, the giant electronic display screen on the wall spews out its message: "Break-in at National Equipment Company, Lafayette at Third, probably at eastern side of building."

It takes only minutes for the silent, speeding patrol cars to arrive, and within 10 minutes of the alarm, the handcuffed intruder is being led out of the building. One of the officers trails behind, carrying the sheaf of papers—a half-million dollars worth of industrial secrets the intruder had in his hands when the officers pounced on him.

The brief, pre-dawn drama proved more than the usefulness of investing in plant security. It also pointed to the fact that electronic expertise is slowly but surely cramping the style of even the most sophisticated criminals.

Strange as it may sound, a world leader in the manufacture of security system components is based in Bnei Brak, a town better known for its religious piety.

"I think we're one of the world's three biggest makers of PIRs," Ya'acov Kotlicki, managing director of Visonic Ltd., told *The Jerusalem Post* in an interview. A PIR, which stands for passive infra-red detector,

is a sensing device that is so responsive to heat that any change in the temperature levels within its range—such as the appearance of a man's body heat—sets it off.

Founded in 1971, Visonic, headed by Kotlicki and his brother Moshe, employs 90 workers in its modest plant. But, thanks to its six robots, Visonic's output, in terms of volume, could probably not be matched even by a similar factory employing 400 or 500 workers.

The robots—four from Britain and Japan—do virtually all the assembly of the complete PIR and other type sensors, and leave only three tasks for the human workers: pressing the components onto the printed circuit board, applying the thin coat of liquid solder to the board's underside and putting each and every sensor through a quality control test.

When Kotlicki, a graduate of the Technion (in electronics engineering) established his company, the product line was strictly for the consumer market: master television-antenna systems, hi-fi equipment and "smart" telephone instruments.

Three years ago, however, the company changed course and entered the burgeoning security business. Since then, it has been full speed ahead for Visonic, Kotlicki says.

As in all fast-growing industries, the competition is rough, and technical innovation is a must not only for success but even for survival. But in its short time in the industry, Visonic has come up with an impressive array of products.

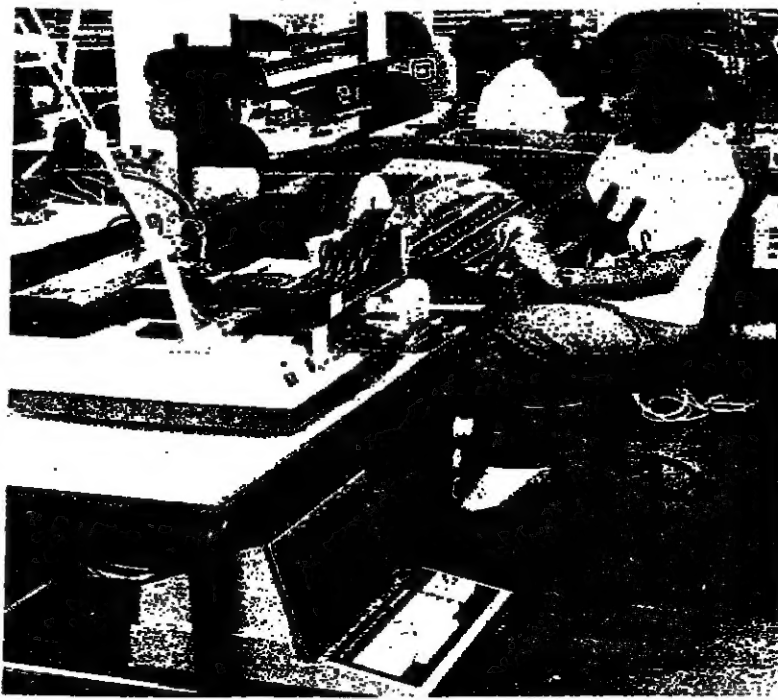
Its MR-3000 ("Magic Red") PIR is acknowledged in the security business as the world's tiniest and perhaps the most accurate infra-red sensor, measuring a mere 2.18 x 2.88 x 1.2 inches. It's "eye" can cover a vertical range of ground level to 15 feet. By using specially designed interchangeable lenses, the MR-3000, shorter than a king-sized cigarette, can cover a horizontal area of up to 100 feet distant and 100 feet from side-to-side.

In addition to security-type PIRs, Visonic manufactures a line specially designed for "energy-management applications," a device that automatically shuts off lighting, heating and air-conditioning equipment in large areas once the last person has left the building.

To beat the super-smart intruder who may know a company's PIR sensor layout and attempts to disable it by snipping the system's wiring, Visonic also offers a wireless model. Here, each sensor contains a tiny wireless transmitter that broadcasts a coded, digital signal to the control panel.

That panel contains not only the instrument that alerts the police or private guard service, but also embodies a microchip integrated circuit that serves as a memory for all the sensor "loops," or networks, that cover the entire building.

Besides PIRs, which can also serve as fire alarms, Visonic manufactures systems that also sounds an



A Visonic employee works on routine packaging chores as a production robot, left foreground, assembles components on printed circuit boards. The robot's "brains" are programmed via the computer keyboard.

alarm when glass is shattered ("audio discriminators"); simple point-to-point intrusion detectors based on the photo-electric ("interrupted light beam") principle; and a non-passive ultrasonic detector that sends out its silent signal and discerns "problems" by studying the reflected signal.

The ultrasonic intrusion detector—Microsonic 1—is used in applications where infra-red sensors cannot be employed and is immune to false alarms caused by telephones, bells or other environmental disturbances.

As a private company, Visonic's sales and income figures are not made public. However, Kotlicki says exports grew by 500 per cent in 1985 and "we are looking for another 250 or 300 per cent growth in overseas sales for this year."

"Exports" is the key word here since almost all of Visonic's products are sold 25 countries overseas—from Britain, Spain and Denmark to Hongkong, Bolivia and Taiwan.

## Prospects look poor for new Opec pact

GENEVA (Reuter). — Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani said the Opec conference that started here yesterday would seek to raise prices to between \$17 and \$19 a barrel from the current \$15.

The talks, the fifth this year for the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, were called to renew curbs on production in force since September to drive up prices in the prevailing oil glut. Oil was priced at nine dollars a barrel before Opec agreed to temporary output restrictions in August.

The curbs, which return Opec to 1984 quota levels, expire on October 31, and ministers will be deciding whether or not the pact should be extended or replaced.

However, the prospects of Opec reaching agreement on a long-term cutback in oil production appears well nigh impossible, the highly authoritative *Middle East Economic Survey* said yesterday. The Nicosia, Cyprus-based publication noted that a comprehensive agreement "has never been more essential if the fragile price gains of the past couple of months are to be preserved and strengthened."

"But all avenues to progress seem to be beset by well-nigh impenetrable thickets of thorny problems," the *Review* stressed.

It said the only safe prediction about the conference "is that it is likely to be just as long and arduous as any endured by the organization during this troubled year, if not more so."

The oil review said one of the problems facing the conference is "the uncomfortable matter of reported violations of the current temporary agreement" in September. It reported that the United Arab Emirates, Ecuador and Gabon "are said to have exceeded their quotas in September, and controversy surrounds Venezuela's action in exporting additional volumes from stocks while maintaining actual production within the quota limit."

The *Review* said these matters will have to be thrashed out "however convenient it might be to sweep them under the carpet." Otherwise "the undisciplined minority will soon become a majority," the review quoted Kuwaiti Oil Minister Sheikh Ali Khalifa as saying.

Yamani said, meanwhile, he thought Opec had stuck to the quota levels set out in the pact but added: "Definitely some members exceeded their limit and this will be discussed also."

He declined to name them but said: "I don't think it's a secret."

The current president of the 13-nation cartel, Nigerian Oil Minister Rilwanu Lukman, opened the conference yesterday by saying the stop-gap output accord clinched in August had shown Opec was "still a power to be reckoned with in the world oil industry."

Lukman demanded cooperation by non-Opec sellers in the push to eliminate surpluses in the world market and declared: "We are determined never again to see ourselves boxed into a corner."

He hinted that if there were no such help Opec could again let prices slide. If they did fall again, he saw "disaster for the long term future of the oil industry," with budgets for exploration slashed and "thousands of rigs lying idle."

The Iranian oil minister, Gholamreza Azqazadeh, told reporters that Iraq, which Iran allowed to be exempted from the present output-sharing accord, now "must either obey Opec rules or be out of Opec. We exempted Iraq for two months but might not in the future."

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are seeking higher output quotas which delegates say could be an obstacle to a new agreement.

## Gentrification in Neve Zedek reaches a logjam

Five years ago, the best real estate investment in the city may have been Neve Zedek.

The city had indicated it wanted to somehow preserve the quarter, the first Jewish neighbourhood outside Jaffa. An architectural office had moved into one of the old run-down buildings and refurbished to a state of Mediterranean elegance.

The seaside boardwalk was spreading southward from the hotel district. There was already hotel construction work under way along the beach outside Manshih, the no-man's land of rubble and abandoned buildings just east of the seaside thoroughfare between Jaffa and Tel Aviv.

For as little as \$10,000, and not much more than \$25,000, courtyards with up to three buildings on them could be bought, sometimes with key money, sometimes outright.

But gentrification was not a fashion then for Tel Aviv, a city that

seems to be in a constant process of construction and decay, stylization and vulgarity.

Not that gentrification is fashionable now. But at least it's hovering at the edges of the urban consciousness as an alternative to square block apartments in square block layouts.

In the early 1980s, a theatre was installed in the old Alliance girls school. A restaurant opened in the same compound. And a few more people from north Tel Aviv moved into the neighbourhood, restoring the dilapidated 75-year-old housing.

Nowadays, even the most long-time resident of Neve Zedek should know that a piece of property there should cost a lot more than \$15,000 or \$20,000.

A potential buyer goes down to Neve Zedek hoping to buy for no more than \$30,000, knowing that another \$50,000 to \$100,000 in reconstruction will be necessary. The sellers, knowing that the buyers



must have at least \$150,000 to invest in the building, demand \$100,000 and more.

So the market in Neve Zedek is logjammed. Sellers are asking too much. Buyers are calculating that every dollar that goes into purchase is not going to be available for the transformation of the property into something livable—and more—resalable.

One problem is that few people with young children are ready yet to

move into the neighbourhood, which offers little in the way of services for kids—schools, a Tipat Halav playgrounds. There is a centre for the elderly, but no daycare centre for toddlers.

But a breakthrough is on the drawing-board. A plan for 40 cottages within walking distance to the beach, in Manshih, just beyond Neve Zedek, will bring big construction money and money residents. Architecturally, the city is looking for plans that will echo the original style of Neve Zedek, which means Tel Aviv's equivalent of Jerusalem's Yemin Moshe.

The development is still in the preliminary stages—so preliminary that decisions could yet change about the developers, the architects, the project coordinators. But City Hall is eager to see some action.

Construction at the Neve Zedek theatre, which is about to become the country's biggest and most up-to-

date dance centre, is nearing completion. A theatre is to be built from the remains of the original Alliance high school, and the entire performing arts centre is to be linked to the boardwalk.

The boardwalk is the key for City Hall, which is considering buying the defunct Dolphinarium. The Dolphinarium is an eyesore and worse, an obstacle in the way of the expansion of the Charles Clore Park northwards all the way to Mograbi, and the boardwalk south towards Jaffa.

The current price tag on the Dolphinarium is about \$300,000. City Hall hopes to pay no more than \$200,000—and then another few thousand dollars to have it knocked down. Nowadays, the parking lot outside serves as a used car *parking*; at night, there is a nightclub on the roof. A casino it will never be, as long as the political configuration in the city council, the Knesset and the government, remains as it is.

The next neighbourhood likely to be sprucing after Neve Zedek will be the area now known as the fashion district, which lives in the morning shadow of Migdal Shalom. Rents there have skyrocketed in the past five years as more than 200 fashion wholesalers and retailers have poured into the neighbourhood.

## West German production fell 0.3% in August

BONN (Reuter). — West German industrial production, seasonally adjusted, fell a provisional 0.3 per cent in August after a downward revision in the July increase to 0.9 per cent, the Economics Ministry said yesterday.

The ministry had originally estimated that production had increased 1.4 per cent in July.

The ministry said the industrial production index, in which 1980 equals 100, stood at a provisional 106.6 in August, down slightly from July's 106.9 but up from 105.9 in June. In August 1985, the index had stood at 103.1, producing a year-on-year rise of 3.4 per cent.

A ministry statement described the August decline as slight compared with what it called a marked increase in July.

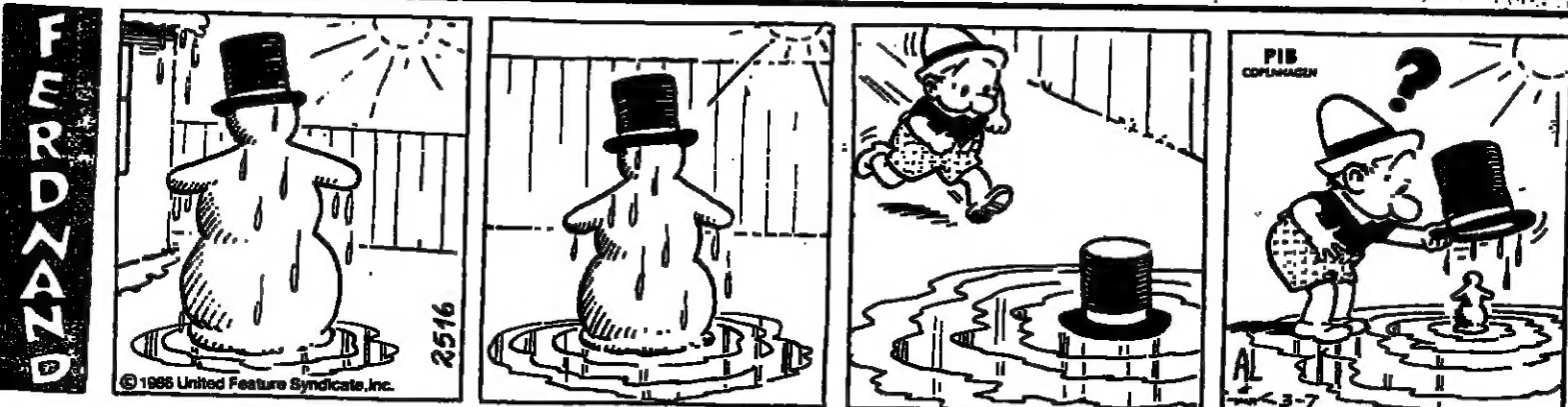
## Baker says no concerted effort to weaken dollar

WASHINGTON (Reuter). — Treasury Secretary James Baker Sunday denied that U.S. officials had met with world bankers in Washington last week in an effort to try to drive down the value of the dollar.

He said that discussions with delegates at the annual meeting of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund were to seek more balanced trade among leading industrial nations.

Baker said in an interview on the ABC television show *Business Report*—that there were two ways to do this.

"One is to increase growth abroad," he said, and added: "Either we are going to increase growth abroad or we are going to have to see a greater competitiveness of the dollar, or both."



### ONE-ON-ONE CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 X-ray, say, of lintel (9)
- 2 Like a small company turning out stock feed (7)
- 3 Sort of trick to make king vanish, perhaps? (7)
- 4 Object to majority being nearest the store? (7)
- 5 At bottom true blue is blunt (9)
- 6 Breed of cattle Ray hires out (8)
- 7 Western supporter of art going pop? (6)
- 8 Lured, as sailors say it, in direction of shelter (7)
- 9 Sea that takes an age to go out around Exmouth (6)
- 10 Is he responsible for "The Rake's Progress"? (8)
- 11 Exact laws when member is delayed (9)
- 12 Made petition for medical treatment (7)
- 13 Faithless batting, field disperses (7)
- 14 Bowler once common in Lancashire (7)
- 15 Perpendicularity of Kent? (9)

DOWN

- 1 Children's author controlled quantity (7)
- 2 Reserves of French wine in caves (7)
- 3 Old Nick in Paris? (8)
- 4 Half of my tie knotted around ring (6)
- 5 Shipyard area chosen by Bonnie? (8)
- 6 A torpid result when this gland is out of order (7)
- 7 Cultured fellow from Pacific Isle, say (9)
- 8 Disorganized message after country-dance (7)
- 9 It depended on Albert to keep an eye on patient (9)
- 10 Arranging away match without a referee? (9)
- 11 Joy's glow? (8)
- 12 Bright star in spiral ring-complex (7)
- 13 Girl ailing somehow, left inside (7)
- 14 She can have hard lines at work (7)
- 15 Yet such trees can be saplings! (6)

### GENERAL ASSISTANCE

#### EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Jerusalem: Herzl, 36 Yaffo, 220508, 522191; Beisam, Salah Eddin, 272315; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058.

Tel Aviv: Hakeiya, 19 Ibn Gvirol, 204650; Kupat Holim Clalit, 7 Amsterdam, 225142.

Netanya: Hanassi, 36 Sderot Weizman, 29659.

Haifa: Nordau, 13 Nordau, 664038.

#### FIRST AID 101

In emergencies dial 101 in most parts of the country. In addition:

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Ashkelon 23333 Kiron 344442

Bat Yam 5611111 Kiryat Shmona 44334

BeerSheva 74767 Nahariya 52333

Carmiel 588555 Netanya 23333

Dan Region 781111 Petah Tikva 9231111

Eilat 7233 Rehovot 461333

Haifa 512233 Rishon LeZion 942333

Holon 803133 Safed 30333

Holon 803133 Tel Aviv 240113

Holon 803133 Tiberias 90111

\* Mobile Intensive Care Unit (MICU) service in the area, around the clock.

"Eran" — Emotional First Aid, Tel: Jerusalem 227171, Tel Aviv 261111/2, Haifa 672222, BeerSheva 418111, Netanya 35316.

Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv, 234819, Jerusalem—245554, and Haifa 382611.

Jerusalem Institute for Drug Problems, Tel: 663828, 663902, 14 Beithlehem Rd.

The National Poison Control Centre at Rambam Hospital, phone (04)529205, for emergency calls, 24 hours a day, for information in case of poisoning.

Kupat Holim Information Centre Tel: 03-433300, 433500 Sunday-Thursday, 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Friday 8 a.m. to 3 p.m.

#### DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Shaare Zedek (pediatrics, surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology), Bikur Holim (internal, obstetrics, E.N.T.).

Tel Aviv: Rokah (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery).

Netanya: Laniado

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Dial 100 in most parts of the country. In Tel Aviv dial 924444, Kiryat Shmona 4444.

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In emergencies dial 102. Otherwise, number of your local station is in the front of the phone directory.

#### FLIGHTS

24-Hour Flight Information Service: Call 03-9712484 (multi-line). Arrivals Only (Taped Message) 03-381111 (20 lines).

### QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 Slightly indecent
- 2 Capricious
- 3 Frisk
- 4 Rupe attached to bow of boat
- 5 Shine
- 6 Unruffled
- 7 Edible gastropod
- 8 Nasal tone of voice
- 9 Track for walkers
- 10 Sham, spurious
- 11 Sign of the Zodiac
- 12 Energetic person
- 13 Young salmon

DOWN

- 1 Heavy fall
- 2 Court sessions
- 3 Zest
- 4 Discuss terms of transaction
- 5 Religious building
- 6 Censure
- 7 Candour
- 8 Dreadful
- 9 Larva of frog or toad
- 10 Mathematical hypothesis
- 11 Dwelling-place
- 12 Go-between
- 13 Treasure store

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### SOVEREIGN STATE

ACROSS

- 1 Miner, 8 Disaster, 9 Happy, 10 Partridge, 11 Study, 14 Pen, 16 Feuille, 17 Invite, 18 Tao, 20 Kudos, 24 Practice, 25 Sabre, 26 Aviation, 27 Ready.

DOWN

- 1 Adapt, 2 Usurp, 3 Astir, 4 Heagie, 6 Inactive, 7 Expedite, 12 Regulate, 13 Abhorred, 14 Pet, 15 Nip, 19 Arrive, 21 Scrap, 22 Limit, 23 Penny.

### QUICK SOLUTION

ACROSS

- 1 Miner, 8 Disaster, 9 Happy, 10 Partridge, 11 Study, 14 Pen, 16 Feuille, 17 Invite, 18 Tao, 20 Kudos, 24 Practice, 25 Sabre, 26 Aviation, 27 Ready.

DOWN

- 1 Adapt, 2 Usurp, 3 Astir, 4 Heagie, 6 Inactive, 7 Expedite, 12 Regulate, 13 Abhorred, 14 Pet, 15 Nip, 19 Arrive, 21 Scrap, 22 Limit, 23 Penny.

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## What price Moda'i

THE matter of Yitzhak Moda'i has become the principal sticking point in the pre-rotation talks between the outgoing and the incoming premiers, Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir.

Last July Mr. Moda'i, then the justice minister, bowed out of the government rather than be booted out by Premier Peres. He had taken the post in April, in a swap with the incumbent, Moshe Nissim, after Mr. Peres found Mr. Moda'i no longer acceptable as finance minister. Although Mr. Peres was last week reported to be willing to put up with Mr. Moda'i's return to the government after the rotation, the premier's fellow Labour ministers resist.

This is the sentiment Mr. Peres conveyed to Mr. Shamir at their meeting last Friday.

Being leader of the Likud Mr. Shamir is, however, determined to bring Mr. Moda'i, the uncertain leader of the Liberals within the Likud, into the reconstituted post-rotation national unity government. That is his right, too, under both the law and the coalition agreement.

Moreover, the decision taken by Mr. Peres, as premier, to rid the government of Mr. Moda'i is not binding on his successor. And the Labourite argument that the "continuity" of the government would be disturbed by Mr. Moda'i's return from the wilderness surely does not comport with Labour's insistence on revisions in the coalition agreement that are required by "changes in the circumstances."

The proper objection should be not to Mr. Moda'i's return to the cabinet table but rather to his return as justice minister.

Mr. Moda'i has a law degree, and he has been admitted to the bar. That, however, is his sole qualification. During his brief stint in the post he showed himself totally lacking in the quality of judiciousness which, to one degree or another, characterized all his predecessors, and temperamentally hostile to the very principle of the rule of law. He had no sooner taken the ministry over than his intention was made clear - to force out all senior Justice officials in the Attorney General's and the State Attorney's Office who did not hide their dedication to independent judgement, and justice.

Only his uncontrollable tongue, which proved Mr. Moda'i's undoing, narrowly saved the Justice Ministry from being converted into a political tool. His conduct in the Shin Bet affair showed unmistakably that his own guiding principle as minister was "reason of state" and political convenience. The disclosure yesterday that Mr. Moda'i had decided on his own, without authority, even before the Supreme Court had its say on the issue, that the accused murderer William Nakash must not be extradited to France, was anything but startling.

Finding a suitable full-time justice minister from among present members of the government may not be easy. But that is no reason to send Mr. Moda'i back to cause havoc and mayhem where he is not wanted or needed.

## Herzog stands fast

FRIENDS of the Jewish terrorist underground, led by Gush Emunim, will be marching in Jerusalem today in a resumption of the campaign to free their favourite prisoners. They hope to put pressure on the country's political leaders to lean on President Chaim Herzog so that he grants to the jailed terrorists the same sort of amnesty he gave the suspected Shin Bet offenders.

For sheer impertinence, the march organizers deserve a medal. They will probably get it, too.

The fact is that the majority - a full 21 - of the underground terrorists have already been set free, if not after serving their rather short sentences, then for good conduct or by presidential pardon. The present campaign aims to spring the remaining eight, three of whom are unrepentant lifers who were convicted for murder.

Their supporters are not embarrassed by the message implicit in their campaign: that the murder - let alone the maiming - of Arabs is entirely proper occupation for young Jewish vigilantes who substitute themselves for the legitimate forces of law and order. A higher law offers the vigilantes immunity from legal punishment, and the president is called upon to obey it.

Mr. Herzog has responded to the attempted pressure by vowing to discontinue any consideration of pardons for the terrorist convicts unless and until the campaign is called off. If pardons are granted, he has stated, it will be on a strictly individual basis and not as part of a collective amnesty, which it is not his prerogative to declare.

The president deserves to be commended for his stand.

## SYRIA

(Continued from Page One)

have been flying over Austria at 39,000 feet. "It is almost certain that all those on board (including the pregnant Murphy) would have been killed," Amlot said.

Amlot stressed to the court that Murphy "was no suicide terrorist bomber. She is a single, simple, Irish girl raised in Eire, who came to London for the first time in 1984 when she was 30 and fell in love with Hindawi."

The court heard that Murphy had been pregnant by Hindawi previously, in 1985, but that she had miscarried. Then she became pregnant again, in the winter of 1985. Hindawi did not want her to have the child, but she told him she would have it, even if he did not want to stay with her. Hindawi disappeared from her life in October 1985, and apart from a postcard and several phone conversations, she had no contact with him until he turned up at her flat on April 7, proposed marriage, and told her he was taking her on holiday to Israel.

On leaving Murphy at the airport, Hindawi returned to his hotel and picked up his bags, the prosecution said. He was planning to return to

the airport to catch a Syrian airways flight to Paris, Amlot said.

Before he could get on a bus back to the airport, however, he heard news of the bomb's discovery, and he went instead to the Syrian embassy, Amlot said, quoting Hindawi's testimony to the police.

There he met with Syrian Ambassador Loutof Allah Haydar. Amlot, again quoting Hindawi's testimony to the police, said that Hindawi was then taken by Syrian security officials to have his hair cut and dyed. Then Hindawi went on his own to a hotel.

The hotel clerk matched his passport photo with those published in the national press, and eventually the police were called and Hindawi was arrested.

Hindawi told police that the explosives used in the attempt had been brought into the United Kingdom by Syrian officials on a Syrian Arab Airlines plane, and that intelligence chief Haifan Said had taught him how to place the bomb in the bag, how to set the timer, and which flight to attempt to blow-up.

Said gave him the Syrian passport - in the name of Issam Sher - and arranged the necessary visas for him. The trial continues today.

## RAIDS

(Continued from Page One)

A report by the Voice of Lebanon Radio of President Amin Jemayel's Phalange Party quoted unnamed police sources as saying training bases for the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Ba'ath Party were bombed and rocketed by the raiding jets.

The station said Israel was con-

vinced that several terror attacks into the security zone in South Lebanon had been carried out by gunmen trained in the bases.

In Damascus, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine said: "Expanding the range of Israeli air raids today is another proof that preparations under way in Tel Aviv to launch a big aggression (on Lebanon) have reached a climax."

## Looking back at Dr. Burg

# Unenviable record

DAVID LANDAU

AMID the welter of praise - much of it insincere - that will doubtless be poured upon the departing Dr. Yosef Burg in the Knesset today, the facts of his long and undistinguished record may be lost, or overlooked. Here are some of them:

• Dr. Burg inherited from the late leader of the National Religious Party, Moshe Haim Shapiro, a party which consistently returned 12 MKs to the Knesset. It had never sunk below 10 seats. Its membership was loyal, politically aware, and appreciative of the successes which the party had achieved over the years, particularly in the field of religious education. Under Dr. Burg's leadership, the NRP's electoral representation was halved (in 1981), then reduced to one-third (1984). Yet still he clung to office.

• Dr. Burg inherited a party in which the dominant element, traditionally, was his own faction, the middle-of-the-road Lamifneh. But under him and his so-called "strongman," Rafael Ben-Natan, Lamifneh steadily lost ground. Only their dexterity in avoiding internal elections enabled them to maintain a palpably anachronistic legend of numerical superiority over the years. This year, that was finally shot to pieces at the NRP convention, and Burg leaves behind him not only a decimated party, but a defeated and demoralized faction.

• Dr. Burg inherited a movement, in Israel and abroad, with a proud heritage of political and religious moderation, a movement whose

platform had been carefully constructed on the twin tenets of pure faith and practical politics. That ideology was beginning to be threatened by the fledgling Gush Emunim ideology, but Moshe Haim Shapiro, no ideologue himself and with few pretensions at sophistry, had held the wild men at bay. Burg, whose background and purported politics were thought to personify the accumulated wisdom and moderation of the movement, allowed the wild men to walk all over him. Those who put him in power, and spurned his rival, Yitzhak Rabin, thought only of his paper qualifications, not of his weak personality, his insatiable love of the trappings of office, his inveterate flinching from controversy.

Having seen the movement emasculated through his weakness and indecision, he must now hand it over to the man who, more than any other, reduced him to political impotence.

BUT THINGS have moved on apace, and that man, Ze'evulun Hammer, is also not his own master. Like his predecessor, he also may become a puppet in the hands of the single-minded zealots who have captured religious Zionism and - as Burg himself knows in his innermost heart (but cannot admit, even to himself) - are leading it to disaster.

• Granted, since the elegant, honourable retirement of Rabbi Dr. Zerah Warhaftig (what a contrast with Burg's reluctant, pathetic exit), Burg has been the foremost scholar of Judaism in the cabinet, and one of the few remaining standard-bearers of *Tora im Derech Eretz* (the synthesis of Judaism and secular learning) in Israeli public life.

• Granted, too, his puns and other witticisms are amusing.

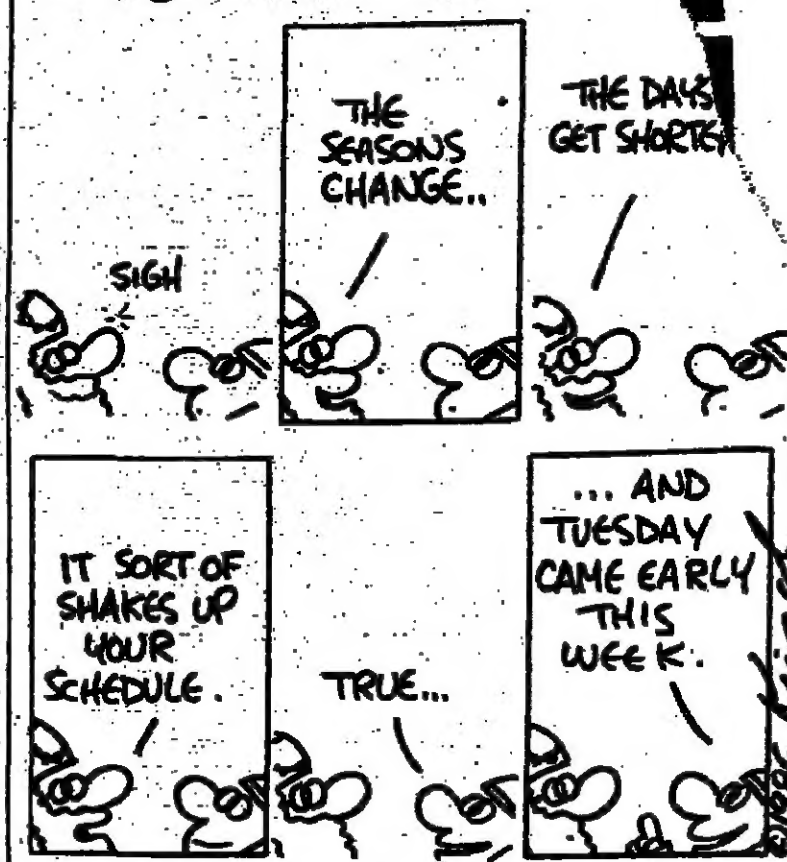
• Granted, further, that he has visited more Jewish communities in more countries than anyone else, and seems to remember everybody he meets.

But by what criteria is a political leader to be judged? As a joker he was tops, as a world-traveller he was unequalled and as an intellectual he added useful leaven to the Knesset and the government.

As the longtime head of a key department of government, the Interior Ministry, he presided apathetically over an antiquated and levantine edifice which he did little to modernize or improve. Thanks to his director-general, Haim Kubersky - a Sir Humphrey if ever there was one - the machine kept chugging along somehow.

His one sally into statesmanship of the peace process that went under the name of "autonomy talks." He undertook with alacrity the sordid work of backtracking, on behalf of former premier Menachem Begin, from the Camp David undertakings

## Dry Bones



which Begin himself had signed. In this, he was egged on by his party hardliners who knew his love of pomp and media-massage, and exploited it so easily.

As leader of an important Zionist movement, the electoral arithmetic is one cogent index of his failure. That movement's loss of a coherent identity, vis-à-vis both the nationalist and the religious ultra-right, is another.

The Mishna's definition of a *haham*, or wise man, is *haroe'et hanolad* - "he who sees (understands) what will be born," or, alternatively, "he who sees what has already been born."

Dr. Burg never had the wisdom to see the *molad* - even when it grew into ominous proportions. Challenged him, found him wanting, and eventually swept him ignominiously from the scene.

## READERS' LETTERS

### MAP REVISION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I refer to your ad of September 19 for your International Edition. "When money talked, Atlas shrugged."

The blackening-out of all references to Israel on certain British-made maps meant for export to a number of countries seems quite a clumsy undertaking in comparison to the techniques employed by one of the leading West German publishers of school books and language-teaching material, the Ernst Klett Verlag in Stuttgart.

In Klett's *SI Kartenheft Geographie, Deutschland - Europa - Welt* (1st ed. 1985) - by no means intended to be a historical atlas and certainly not specifically produced for export purposes - a map of Israel can be found on page 22 under the heading *Palästina und Israel* - with the term *Israel* neatly placed on waves of the Mediterranean and the term *Palästina* right across the country, including the occupied territories.

Not less revealing is the fact that in the table of contents the entry *Palästina und Israel* appears under the main topic *Erdteile und Gross-mächte* (Continents and Super Powers). One cannot but wonder what kind of political whims the Ernst Klett Verlag will dream up for their next edition...

JOACHIM WARBOLD  
Tel Aviv.

### WASTE OF MONEY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Your article of September 24 describing the NIS 800,000 annual maintenance costs of the Agam fountain in Tel Aviv caused me great distress.

At a time when community, welfare and social services are receiving budget cutbacks, it is disgraceful that such amounts of needed cash are spent on maintenance of a decorative object, especially when the amount of money required is double the amount which the city spends on its welfare activities.

Let's get our priorities right.

LARRY SHULMAN

Arad.

Sir, - So it turns out that each year's upkeep of the revolving sculpture in Dizengoff Circle will cost almost as much as the sculpture cost to build (September 14). And that's without counting the gas "contributed by a gas company," which you and I ultimately pay for, too.

MARK LEVINSON

Herzliya.

### ISRAELIS ABROAD

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - The newly formed Friendship Force under the leadership of Colonel Levey of Tel Aviv arrived in Newcastle upon Tyne, England, with Mr. Ben Zeev of Netanya in charge. The Arab propaganda in the North East of England, Durham particularly, is such that residents were somewhat reluctant to host Israeli Jews.

However, their stay in Newcastle resulted in firm friendships being made and the Israeli group was stated to be the best group ever. This has been wonderful propaganda for Israel - far better than any lecturers on Zionism.

Please send us more Israelis to stay in our homes. We Jews and non-Jews love them.

THERESA S. RUSSELL,  
President,  
The English Friendship Force  
Tel Aviv (Newcastle upon Tyne).

Gurdjieff  
Ouspensky  
Centre  
052-78423

### THE MORNING AFTER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I have until now regarded Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein as a champion of rationality and decent behaviour in a governmental system where these attributes are all too often missing. As of this morning, however, I see him as guilty as the rest of his colleagues in his disdain for the public.

He cannot have been unaware that 10,000 telephones were disconnected in one day, 6,000 of them in Jerusalem, for alleged non-payment of bills. What did he and his staff think was likely to happen the morning after 6,000 telephones were disconnected in one city? Or even a few hundred? I arrived in the Bezek office near the central bus station at 9:15 a.m. on Friday, September 26, to find a packed hall and to be handed a waiting-line slip numbered 263. I had come there after making the futile dash into town to the old Bezek office downtown as had most of those on line. After waiting 20 minutes without seeing the line move, I left for work, passing streams of angry-looking people heading in. I returned at noon to find the place still packed and left again. I expect more of the same on Sunday.

Many thousands of man-hours were lost in this totally unnecessary exercise. I am a foreign correspondent who cannot function without a telephone. I'm sure my problem is minor compared to that of many others who are dependent on their

phone because of illness or loneliness. It was a brilliant stroke to disconnect the phones on Thursday so that thousands would have to go to the Sabbath without them.

Worst of all, this action has added to a general malaise for which inept and mindless government is largely responsible, a sense of distrust and disdain from on high which is recognized and returned in kind by the public. Why treat the public with such lack of human dignity? Could there have been no warning in the mail? Could the old bill not have been added to the current bill? If all other avenues had been explored and there was no alternative but to disconnect, could this not easily be staggered so that you don't have thousands of people, or even hundreds, trying to pay their bills the same morning? Were the minister and his staff trying to teach the public a lesson and using this mass disconnection and the ensuing chaos as a deliberate punitive measure to make sure the public won't be tardy again?

The ministry's actions - and the minister is certainly party to them - constitute government by terror. They had the power and they used it, and the public be damned.

The minister owes the public an apology and himself some thorough housecleaning.

A. RABAN  
Jerusalem.

### HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - We are members of Amnesty International, the worldwide human rights movement, and have recently formed an English-speaking group in Tel Aviv.

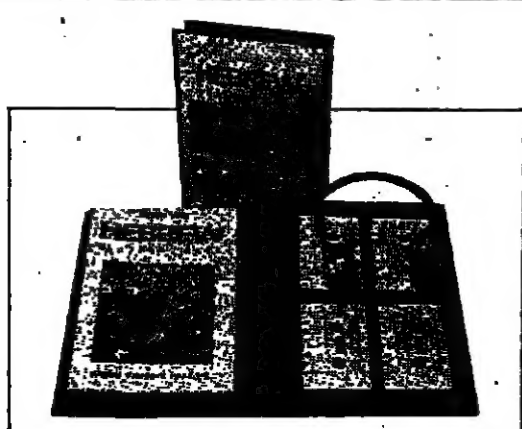
An area of special concern to us is the current abuse of human rights in Chile, including illegal arrests, torture and political killings. In 1985 alone, 166 cases of torture and 700 cases of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment were reported. Six people died as a result of torture

while being held by the security forces during 1985.

We urge all readers who share a concern for the protection of international human rights to learn more about the situation in Chile. For those who are interested in becoming involved in Amnesty International's work, we invite you to call the office at 03-286601 for further information.

CINDY ALKON  
GAIL MORRIS  
Tel Aviv.

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